

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
WAR CONFERENCE

HELD AT

Delhi, 27th—29th April 1918.



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MESSAGE FROM HIS MAJESTY THE KING-EMPEROR.

I learn with deep satisfaction that in response to the invitation of my Viceroy, the Ruling Princes and Chiefs, representatives of the provincial Governments and leaders of all ranks and sections of the community, European and Indian, are meeting in Conference at Delhi to re-affirm the abiding loyalty of the Indian people and their resolute will to prosecute to their utmost ability and to the full limit of their resources, in association with other members of the Empire, the war which our enemies have wantonly provoked and which they are ruthlessly waging against the freedom of the world. Great as has been India's contribution to the common cause of the allies it is by no means the full measure of her resources and her strength. I rejoice to know that their development and the fuller utilisation of her man power will be the first care of the Conference. The need of the Empire is India's opportunity and I am confident that under the sure guidance of my Viceroy her people will not fail in their endeavours. Recent events have made the struggle on the western front more bitter and more intense. At the same time the position in the East is menaced by disturbances in Asia instigated by the enemy. It is of ever increasing importance that the operations of our armies in Egypt,

Palestine and Mesopotamia should be largely sustained from India. I look confidently to the deliberations of the Conference to promote a spirit of unity, a concentration of purpose and activity, and a cheerful acceptance of sacrifices without which no high object, no lasting victory, can be achieved.

OPENING SPEECH BY HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY.

YOUR HIGHNESSES AND GENTLEMEN :

Delhi has seen many assemblages in her long history. Three stand out in the recollection of living men. Lord Lytton in Delhi proclaimed Queen Victoria as Empress of India. Lord Curzon celebrated the accession of King Edward as Emperor, and within recent memory our King-Emperor showed himself to his people in this historic city.

All these great gatherings were held with befitting pomp and circumstance. There was cloth of gold; there was blare of trumpets; there was pageantry of arms. They marked great moments in India's history; the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland taking upon herself a title which threw a challenge to the world that she was monarch of this land and of its peoples; King Edward reaffirming the great Queen's act by claiming your allegiance as her successor; and finally our

King-Emperor coming in person and receiving your homage and allegiance on the plains of Delhi.

But all these great assemblies will have proved empty and vain if the purpose of our gathering here to-day be not fulfilled. To-day we are met together, Princes and peoples, from all the ends of India—I wish I could have summoned more—with no pomp and circumstance, no pageantry, no clash of arms or music, to show that India's word given in the soft days of peace holds good in the iron times of war; to prove that India remains now as ever true to her salt. We are met here then with quiet purpose and stern resolve to answer the call which our King-Emperor makes to us.

And what is that call? To-day after well-nigh four completed years of war the guns are thundering and men are dying on the fields of Flanders and of France to settle the great issue—Is Right Might? or Is Might Right?—: and your Emperor calls upon India at this supreme moment to rally to his call and establish it for all time that Right is Might. Do I err when I state the issue thus? We hold that moral purpose should rule the world, and that purpose is the achievement of right.

Can we say the same of our foes? None of us can forget the German Chancellor's cynical avowal in the opening days of the war that "necessity knows no law." We remember blazing Louvain. We hear the cries of children. Old men are shot: women are outraged and

butchered. We have had the tale of German rule in South-West Africa. And so I could go on with the gruesome history of these four years.

And now where do we stand? In the West the armed hosts face each other locked in deadly conflict. The battle sways this way and that. Our forces have been pressed back under the weight of the German armies released from the Russian front; but we are unbroken. The battle is one of endurance. Each day takes its awful toll of victims, and victory will come to him who endures to the end. We need have no fear, for time and men are on our side. We can endure, and Britain's great daughter, the United States of America, is pouring in men ready to take their place in the stricken field.

But in the meantime Germany with that thoroughness, which might have been devoted to a better cause, has not been idle in the East. I will take your minds back a few years. Germany has long cast her eyes eastward. In her dream of world domination the East has always loomed large, and many years ago Germany concentrated her diplomacy on the moral and political capture of Turkey. With Turkey as her servitor a path to the East was open, and she could use the influence and prestige of Turkey in the Moslem world for the furtherance of her own aims. I need not dwell on her pre-war plans in regard to the Baghdad,

railway and other matters in Asia Minor and Mesopotamia. Shortly after the outbreak of war in Europe Germany succeeded, with the help of a clique bound by self-interest to her service, in dragging Turkey into a war with which she had no concern, regardless of the ruin caused to that unhappy country. Now in this policy Germany was prompted not only by her craving for Eastern dominion, but also by the hope that she might cause thereby the maximum embarrassment in the East to her chief enemy, Great Britain. In the first place, she hoped that the Moslems of India would be duped into the belief that this secular war with Turkey, thrust on us against our will, was a religious war, and would be shaken in their allegiance to Great Britain. But in this she was destined to disappointment. The Indian Moslems were quick to realise that this was not a matter of religion but a secular trap into which they were too wise and too loyal to walk. The Indian Moslems with their religion safeguarded and secured, as it has always been and always will be under British rule, have been loyal to the great Empire of whom they form so vital a part. In the second place, Germany hoped to secure an open and unmolested path to the Persian Gulf whence she might harry Indian communications and Indian commerce with her submarines, and perhaps eventually by intrigue and terrorism in Persia bring war to the confines of India itself. But here again she is thwarted. Our gallant armies in Mesopotamia, to which India has contributed so generously, have now

succeeded by victory after victory in securing the great plains of Mesopotamia, so that no danger can, I hope and believe, again threaten us from that quarter. By our operations in Mesopotamia we have not only steadied the Middle East, but are defending India in the best way possible from direct German aggression.

You will ask, where then is the menace of which the Prime Minister speaks ?

The terrible revolution which has hurled Russia into anarchy, has opened another door for Germany through Southern Russia to the confines of Eastern Persia and Afghanistan. At present famine, lawlessness and chaos reign along the path which German forces would have to traverse to approach us by that route; and as yet preoccupied with the stupendous struggle in the West, Germany has made no military move whatsoever in this direction. But the door is open and we must be on our guard. In this war as in no war before we have to look ahead and prepare for every possible contingency. Germany has not and could not yet have made any military move in the direction I speak of, but she has already, as is her wont, thrown out into Central Asia her pioneers of intrigue, her agents of disintegration. The lesson she has learnt from the Russian revolution is that a stronger weapon than all the armaments that money can buy or science devise, is the disruption of an enemy by his own internal forces. To this end Germany sapped and mined in Russia; to this end she will sap

and mine through her agents in the Middle East, and blow on the flame of anarchy in the hope that it may spread and spread till it has enveloped the lands of her enemies, regardless of all intervening havoc. When the ground has thus been prepared then she will look for her opportunity.

But there is a bright side to the picture. In the north there is a bulwark against German intrigue and German machinations. I refer to our staunch friend and ally, His Majesty the Amir of Afghanistan. As you are aware at the outbreak of the war His Majesty gave his Royal word that, so long as the independence and integrity of his kingdom were not threatened, he would maintain neutrality. He has kept his Royal word unswervingly, in spite of every attempt of our enemies to seduce him from his purpose and to embarrass his position, and I do not believe that in the history of this country the relations between any Amir of Afghanistan and any Viceroy of India have been more cordial or mutually confident than they are to-day. But in Afghanistan, as in India, there are many ignorant people, credulous people, fanatical people, such as at a time of world-excitement may be carried away by any wind of vain doctrine. Such persons may at any moment become a serious embarrassment to wise and level-headed statesmanship. One of our first thoughts therefore at this time must be how we can best assist the Amir of Afghanistan, who has in the interests of his country which he loves,

and in accordance with the pledges which he has given, kept his ship on a straight course of neutrality between the reefs that have so often surrounded him. We can, I believe, best do so by showing our enemies, first, that India stands solid as rock and that the lambent flame of anarchical intrigue will find nothing inflammable in this country,—nay rather, will be smothered and extinguished forthwith, should it approach, by the dead-weight of our unity of purpose; second, that should ever our enemy have the hardihood to bring force in the direction of our borders, we are ready with munitions and men to fulfil our obligations to the Amir of Afghanistan by assisting him in repelling foreign aggression and further to guard our own with the whole man-power and resources of India ready behind us.

I make no boast—nor is this a time for boasting—but we are at the present moment very strong in India in the military sense. This war has brought great developments in military equipment, and we are not behindhand in all the latest military inventions. We have seldom in recent years been so prepared as we are to-day; and those misguided people on our frontiers who during the past year relied on our being unprepared and weak in troops have found out their mistake to their cost. But this does not mean that we can fold our hands, and take our security for granted. We must take no risks, and whenever the call may come, and whatever it may be, we must be ready to meet it.

We have supplied and are now supplying Palestine and Mesopotamia with large forces and the necessary reinforcements, and we are in close communication with the military authorities at home with regard to all future requirements.

First of our obligations stands the supply of men for our armies.

I have no doubt that if we adhered to our present methods of recruitment we should continue to secure a large number of men. But I have felt that it would not be right to pursue such a policy. I want to feel that I am carrying India herself along with the Empire at large ; I want her to realise that this is her war ; and that her sons who go forth to fight go to fight for their own Motherland. And so now that the Prime Minister has sent forth his trumpet call and spoken of the menace to the East, I have thought it well to take you into my complete confidence and tell you how the matter stands. There is no reason for apprehension. Forewarned, we are forearmed. And if we stand united against the common foe, we have no cause for fear. India is true to her allegiance. India stands for the right. No man addressing such an audience, and stating such a cause, can doubt for one moment what the response will be. I have spoken of the cause. I have told you of the death-grip on the Western Front. I have unfolded to you the story of German machinations in the East.

If the war were to stop to-morrow, the tale of India's share in the Great War would form no unworthy page in her glorious annals. Her sons have fought not without glory on every front. In East Africa, in Palestine, in Mesopotamia, they have borne away victorious laurels. They still flock to the colours. But until victory is achieved we cannot relax our efforts, and I have summoned you to Delhi not simply that you may listen to me, move resolutions and then disperse, but I have asked you to come and help with your counsel and advice now, and with your personal endeavour when you return to your homes. In due course you will be invited to appoint two Committees—one on Man-Power and another on Resources. The Commander-in-Chief and other Members of my Executive Council, assisted by expert advisers, will lay before the Committees information which will enable them to review the situation, and report to the Conference on Monday.

I might speak to you to-day of the help which India could give in many directions. We can of our plenty give more to those who go short. We can become more self-sufficing. We can learn to do without things. But these are questions which can be better discussed in Committee.

There is one matter, however, which is in the domain of the Imperial Council, with regard to which I must make brief allusion. I refer to finance. We have had to meet large military expenditure and the heavy

Council drawings required to finance exports of national importance ; and the strain, which the provision of these large amounts in India has thrown on us, has been mainly due to the difficulty of supplementing our resources by specie remittances on a scale commensurate with our requirements. Remittances in the form of gold have been limited by the necessity of conserving the central gold resources of the Empire and the Allies, while in the case of silver we have been prevented from obtaining the supplies we desired by the large competitive demands of other countries for this metal.

In the latter respect I am glad to be able to state that we now hope that this strain will shortly be considerably relieved. Arrangements have been made under which the United States Government will supply us with a very large quantity of silver which they have taken powers by legislation to set free from their Currency Reserve. We may thus expect in the near future very substantial remittances in the form of silver. I am glad to have this opportunity of expressing our hearty obligations to the American Government for the valuable assistance which they are giving us in the matter. It may be some time before this silver will arrive ; but the knowledge that it is on the way will, I am sure, form an adequate answer to the rumours which have been spread, through ignorance or malignity, as to the possibility of our being unable to meet in full our obligations in respect of currency notes,

and will show that such rumours are entirely without foundation. The help which is thus being afforded us will moreover be of the greatest value by enabling us to continue to render the full and effective assistance to the finance of the war which we desire to give.

I invite now the co-operation of all in securing the success of the coming War Loan. We are not yet in a position to fix a date for the new loan, because that must depend on satisfactory money-market conditions, which do not at present obtain.

How India can best render further financial assistance is a matter which must engage our earnest attention. Later on, when the position is clearer than at present, we propose to consider, in conjunction with the Legislative Council, for this is a matter essentially in its sphere, how far it will be feasible for India to increase the direct financial contribution she has already made to His Majesty's Government, or in what other way she can assist financially. If additional taxation should be necessary, we shall not shrink from proposing it, and I am sure that you will gladly bear it. But at the present moment, we have to concentrate our efforts on that form of assistance which India can most readily and usefully give in connection with the present crisis that is the increase of her combatant power and of her production for war purposes.

Let me now return to the larger theme. While I am

speaking the great issue still hangs on the balance upon the battle-fields of France. It is there that the ultimate decision of India's fate will be taken. I have told you of the situation in the East, not because I think your pulses can only be quickened by an indication of peril to yourselves, but because through it you may be able to see clearly where our path of duty lies. Let me be able to tell the Prime Minister that he need have no fear for the East; that here India will do watch and ward; that here she will take full responsibility.

But if we are to do these things we must close our ranks. In the face of the common danger there is no room for smaller issues. The liberty of the world must be won before our aspirations for the liberalising of Indian political institutions can acquire any tangible meaning. And surely no one can say that India has any cause for complaint on this score. It was only in August last that the momentous declaration of policy by His Majesty's Government was made. Close on the heels of that announcement the Secretary of State came out to India, and he and I have been at work on the problem for the past six months. Mr. Montagu is now on his way home carrying with him our joint report and recommendations. He would have felt it a great privilege to be here to-day, but it was not possible. He had already stayed in India far beyond the time which had been contemplated for his visit. But he has left in the full and certain confidence that India will not

prove deaf to the call which has been made, and that she will take such steps as may enable her to respond. I read with great satisfaction, and England will read with great satisfaction, the telegram of the non-official Members of the Bengal Legislative Council in which they expressed their trust "that the people of India will put aside all difference of opinion and disputes, and will concentrate their whole energy upon a supreme endeavour to prevent the tyranny of the German Empire from engulfing the whole world." Surely that should be the aim of us all. I am ready — aye! more than ready — to concert with those who will meet me on this common platform. But in these days of stress and strain it is idle to ask men to come together who disagree on first principles. While they are wrangling over those, the house is burning. There are those who would exploit England's difficulty. I believe that these people gravely misinterpret India's attitude. I am sure that there are none here who will countenance such a policy. There are those again who would wish to bargain. Again, I decline to believe that any one has come to this Conference in a huckstering spirit. Lastly, there are some who would busy themselves with this thing or that. To these I would say that, as at home and in other countries we have felt it our duty not to be unmindful of the great problems of reconstruction which will inevitably face all countries when this great war is over. But our task in this respect is now over for the present. We have heard all those who had a right to be heard, and we have

a right to ask for patience. No decisive steps will be taken without opportunity being given for discussion and criticism. Let me then take Burke's immortal phrase and say "Let us pass on. For God's sake, let us pass on."

Everywhere throughout His Majesty's dominions beyond the seas men are flocking to the colours. Wherever the British flag flies in the dominions every nerve is being strained to bring all help in this supreme moment.

We must not, we will not, have it said that India was one whit behind the rest of the Empire. I know, I am sure, that in saying this I am merely anticipating the decision of this Conference.

In this great world conflagration all the nations are being tried by fire and the dross is being purged away. We may ask ourselves how can this thing be, but we may be confident that it is not without divine purpose; that the peoples are being tested as by fire; and that for those who come out purified and refined there are spacious days ahead. So may it be with India, and you who have come to this Conference have India's good name in your hands. The eyes of the world are upon you. I am sure you will quit yourselves like men.

After the close of his speech His Excellency the Viceroy read the gracious message from His Majesty the King-Emperor.

*Proceedings at the meeting of the Conference on
Monday, April 29, 1918.*

HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY :

YOUR HIGHNESSES AND GENTLEMEN, before proceeding with the agenda which you all have in your hands I wish to inform this Conference that I have received notice of a resolution from the Hon'ble Mr. Khaparde. The resolution is as follows :—

“That this Conference recommends that in order to invoke whole-hearted and real enthusiasm amongst the people of India, and successfully to mobilise the man-power and material and money, the Government in England should without delay introduce a bill into Parliament meeting the demands of the people to establish responsible government in India within a reasonable period which would be specified in the Statute.

We feel confident that the inauguration of this measure will make our people feel that they are fighting for their Motherland and for freedom in the defence of their own rights, rights in an Empire in which they possess the same status as other members thereof; and we are further sure that if the imagination of our country is captured and its enthusiasm so encouraged it can easily equip itself to be in the language of the Premier ‘the

bulwark which will save Asia from the tide of oppression and disorder.'

This Conference recommends that all racial distinctions should be removed forthwith and Indians and Europeans should be treated as the King's equal subjects in all departments of public affairs."

I have no intention myself of discussing the merits or demerits of the proposed resolution but I think out of respect to the Conference and courtesy to the Hon'ble Member who has given notice of the resolution that I should inform the Conference of the reasons, the paramount, the cogent, reasons which impel me to declare the resolution out of order. Now, in the first place, this Conference is a War Conference, it has been summoned for the purpose of discussing how best India can help the Empire in Man Power and in the matter of Resources. Well, to my mind, it is a fundamental principle governing all public meetings that a public meeting should confine itself to the matter for the discussion of which it has been called together and on this fundamental ground I feel it is necessary in the first place to say that this resolution does not come within the scope of this Conference, and secondly to remind Hon'ble Members also that they have been summoned as representatives from various parts of India not because of their qualifications to discuss large questions

of policy, questions which should be discussed in the Imperial Council and other Councils but to consider this one sole object. I think it would be unreasonable to ask Hon'ble Members who have come here to go outside their sphere, as I should have to do, if I were to admit them to a discussion of that sort.

But there is another point that I should like to bring before this Conference. If I were to admit this resolution I should have to admit discussions on any question which any Hon'ble Member of this Conference considers should be treated as a condition precedent to the proposals for the assistance of the Empire. I would ask Hon'ble Members of this Conference to consider what an impossible situation might thereby arise. We should have to discuss many subjects—I do not discuss their merits,—many subjects and by the time we had finished these subjects we should not have got to the matter in hand. I would ask the Hon'ble Member who suggested this resolution to consider how unreasonable it would be for all you busy men who have come together here, who have been asked for one particular purpose to discuss this question here when there is a tribunal before which these matters are discussed.

But there is a last point which I should like to bring prominently to the notice of the Hon'ble Member who wishes to move this resolution, and that is this. This Conference is composed not only of representatives from

British India, but many of the Ruling Princes have come here to show that in this Imperial matter they have no interest distinct from British India itself. There is a fundamental governing principle which rules the relations between the Native States and British India, and that is, that we in British India do not interfere in the internal concerns of Native States. And conversely we do not expect their Highnesses to interfere in our affairs. Therefore on this occasion we should be asking, if this resolution were admitted, we should be asking their Highnesses to discuss and to vote on a matter which I for one distinctly say is not in their purview, and I feel that their Highnesses would be the first to disclaim any wish to do so and would in fact decline to do it. Therefore, on all these grounds I am bound to rule this resolution out of order.

I gave the Hon'ble Member notice of my intention, and I told him that I should put the resolution as he drafted it before the Conference, and I also told him that I should inform the Conference of the considered opinion which I have arrived at upon his resolution to show that I had considered it carefully and after due consideration had felt that it was not in my power to accept it.

Resolution No. I.

HIS HIGHNESS THE GAEKWAR OF BARODA:

YOUR EXCELLENCY, we have all heard with profound respect the gracious message of His Majesty the King-Emperor, and I have now to request you to convey, on behalf of all my Brother Princes and the People of India, an assurance of our unswerving loyalty and abiding attachment to His Majesty's person and throne, in this hour of the Empire's need.

His Majesty's stirring message has not fallen on deaf ears; His clarion call will evoke a sense of duty in all hearts throughout this land. His Majesty has generously appealed to our sense of patriotic unity and I am confident that the results of this Conference will demonstrate that trust *will* beget trust; that India, feeling the identity of her interests with the rest of the Empire, will leave no stone unturned to play her rôle in a manner befitting her proud position as a partner in the greatest empire history has ever chronicled.

With intimate mutual knowledge, common aims and objects, and a concentration of identical purpose, our resources, which we have all placed at the disposal of His Majesty the King-Emperor, will assuredly be strengthened a thousandfold, and we can look forward to

the ultimate end of this great war, with cheerful confidence and supreme faith, in the final victory of right over might.

I have now great pleasure in moving the first resolution entrusted to me:—

“That this Conference authorises and requests His Excellency the Viceroy to convey to His Majesty the King Emperor an expression of India’s dutiful and loyal response to His gracious message and an assurance of her determination to continue to do her duty to her utmost capacity in the great crisis through which the Empire is passing.”

HER HIGHNESS THE BEGUM OF BHOPAL:

MY LORD, with your permission I rise to say a very few words in support of the resolution moved in such eloquent terms by His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwar. There are times when words are but a poor vehicle for one’s thoughts, and I assure Your Excellency that I find it difficult adequately to express the feelings awakened in me by the gracious message from His Majesty the King-Emperor, feelings, which are shared by Princes and people alike throughout the country. Devotion to the British Crown is writ large on every page of Indian history. It is a heritage of imperishable glory, and every one of us is proud of it. Consecrated by a union which has brought India peace, prosperity

and happiness, the out-standing and imperative needs of this country, India has been rightly called the brightest jewel of the British Crown, and in this hour of supreme necessity, when the British Empire is stemming the onrush of forces of barbarism which threaten to shatter the whole fabric of human law and justice, it is only natural that the King-Emperor's words should evoke in this land a dutiful and loyal response. India, Your Excellency, will never fail the Empire in her hour of need. I trust that Your Excellency will, in the name of the whole country, assure His Imperial Majesty that in the development of our resources, in the fullest utilisation of our man-power, nay in response to any call, which the Empire may make at this fateful juncture in the history of the world, we will leave nothing undone to justify the confidence, the love, the sympathy with which the King-Emperor has always honoured us. The need of the Empire is undoubtedly India's opportunity. It is our opportunity for adding to our brilliant record, of proving once more in this ordeal of blood and fire, that we are really worthy of the message we have received from our King-Emperor. Now that the War has entered upon a more intense phase, we assure you that it will never be said of India that in this supreme crisis India, when weighed in the balance, was found to be wanting. Of this bright jewel of the Crown we will never dim the lustre—nay we wish to add to its brilliance.

HIS HIGHNESS THE MAHARAJA SCINDIA OF GWALIOR :

YOUR EXCELLENCY, BROTHER PRINCES AND GENTLEMEN, I rise to support the resolution which has just been seconded by her Her Highness the Begum Sahiba of Bhopal.

Your Excellency, Brother Princes and Gentlemen, although I am not speaking just now in a representative capacity yet I feel sure that in view of the terms of the resolution I can confidently assume the rôle of a spokesman for all the Princes and people of India.

I am convinced that His Majesty the King-Emperor no more stands in need of assurances as to our loyalty to his cause or as to our determination to do our duty in the present juncture than we do as to his gracious concern for our welfare. It is this concern for India's safety, her immediate need, and her future prosperity, that has impelled His Majesty to send the message which His Excellency the Viceroy communicated to us on April the 27th. And it is the natural complement and counterpart of that concern which makes us inwardly conscious of the feeling that an assurance of our sense of duty must be conveyed to His Majesty our Emperor in words instinct with unaffected sincerity. However superfluous may be the assurances on either side, we should not be human if they did not cheer and refresh in this hour of the Empire's ordeal. Let us

therefore with one voice acclaim the message which proceeded from His Majesty's gracious solicitude for his people. And while blessing him silently for never forgetting us when in danger let us also articulate our acknowledgments and suffer to come up to our lips the gratitude which is deep down in our hearts.

Your Excellency, Brother Princes and Gentlemen, permit me to say that in this country we may differ in politics, we may differ in religion, we may differ in one or the other detail but as regards one matter there is, I believe, no difference of opinion. That matter is the resolve to perpetuate the Empire. To that end we must will, with all our heart and all our might, to come victoriously out of the present struggle, a struggle which was doubtless forced upon us with the deliberate intent to disintegrate the Empire or at least to jeopardise its envied solidarity. If I am right in this opinion, and I believe it is the opinion which has found acceptance in most countries, then I say we ought to stick at no effort and spare no sacrifice to strengthen ourselves against that danger. To do so is not only our duty but also a matter of legitimate pride.

Let us not forget that the liberty of the world depends upon the issue of this War. As sure as the sun shines, that liberty is safe if we win it, and, by God's grace and under His Divine guidance, we certainly shall win it.

When the British Empire, which stands for justice, for equal rights and righteous relations, has vindicated itself and its moral basis, then the world will behold a union of hearts which can only spring from equal rights and opportunities, and India's recognition as a partner in the joint family will be the merited reward of her unflagging devotion and invaluable co-operation in the cause of the Empire in the hour of her need.

Your Excellency, Brother Princes and Gentlemen, I heartily support the resolution to authorise and request Your Excellency to convey to His Majesty the King-Emperor an expression of India's dutiful and loyal response to his gracious message and an assurance of her determination to continue to do her duty to utmost capacity in the great crisis through which the Empire is passing.

HIS HIGHNESS THE MAHARAJA OF BIKANER :

YOUR EXCELLENCY, it affords me the greatest pleasure to rise and support this resolution. The time is verily one for active deeds and not for mere words, and so I will try to be as brief as possible; and happily the loyalty of India needs no argument. Her achievements in the present war stand as witness. The services which India is proud to have rendered to the Empire in this most momentous and grimmest of struggles are the outcome of her unquestioned and whole-hearted loyalty and

devotion to the person and throne of His Imperial Majesty, our beloved King-Emperor, loyalty deeply instilled in the hearts of the Indians by our religion, traditional characteristics and sentiment, dating to our ancient civilization thousands of years back, loyalty which has become the very essence of our life and soul, loyalty which has no price and is not for barter or for sale. The might of Great Britain and the unquestioned supremacy of the all-powerful Navy of our King-Emperor has kept the war away from our shores. The threat to India may consequently seem to some as a very distant one, but we have now to look ahead and to prepare ourselves in real earnest, not only to render the utmost possible assistance to the Empire, but also to defend, if need be, our very hearths and homes. Woe betide the country and the nation that is not capable of defending itself. The necessity of to-day is not an ordinary one, and it is essential that all our energy should be devoted to the one supreme question of the moment before which all other questions, however vital, at once become for the time being of secondary importance. If every one will only try to realise what a successful invasion of India would mean in devastation of the country, chaos, rapine, anarchy and the transportation and murder of even its civilian population, even its women and children, the horrors of which can only be realised by those who have witnessed the tragedy in Belgium and France, then there will be no fear of their failing to co-operate to their utmost with

the British Government in preventing that danger from becoming a grim reality. And how much worse would such an invasion be by such an unscrupulous enemy as the Germans, who aim at world-domination and the subjection of all countries and nations; who regard sacred treaties as scraps of paper, and solemn promises as lightly to be violated to suit their convenience, excusing such outrage by advancing the plea that necessity knows no law. Are we not therefore justified in our confidence that the gracious and inspiring message from His Imperial Majesty, the earnest appeal from Your Excellency at the opening of this Conference, and the crisis with which we are face to face to-day will evoke a hearty response throughout the length and breadth of India, and that the deliberations of this Conference will lead to redoubled efforts and yet further sacrifices on the part of the Princes and people for India, not only for the good name and defence of our Motherland, but for the honour and glory of the Empire and for victory and the ultimate overthrow of Prussian tyranny and of Prussia, so that liberty and freedom may once again reign supreme?

As for myself personally and my State, I do not think it necessary at this stage to trouble Your Excellency with any details, but I would like to state only one or two important directions in which we have endeavoured loyally to serve our King-Emperor. My troops, nearly two and a half times their former

sanctioned field service strength, have been continuously away on active service since 1914.

We have not only maintained them at full strength in the field, but kept a substantial standing reserve, and when a further reinforcement of men running into three figures was sent in March last, the deficiency was made good practically within a fortnight. Close on 1,000 men have been enlisted in the Imperial Army from my State, almost wholly through the State War Board, since January 1st this year, a record which, in spite of our comparatively limited number of fighting men, we hope to beat in the near future. In financial assistance, too, our war expenditure and contributions have been, I hope, commensurate with our resources. My State headed the list in Rajputana in the War Loan subscriptions last year, whilst we secured the fifth place among all the States of India as regards Our-Day contributions. Subsequent to the exchange of telegrams between Your Excellency and the Prime Minister, I telegraphed some days ago to Your Excellency renewing the assurance communicated at the outbreak of war, of our whole-hearted and loyal support and once again placing my personal services and all my troops and resources of my State at the command of His Majesty the King-Emperor. We fully realise that the interests of the British Empire and of the States are so closely bound together that the States stand or fall with the British Empire, and, please God, they will stand. In

short, we have always endeavoured to render the utmost service in our power to our King-Emperor, and I can only say that the efforts of my people shall not be relaxed, but rather increased so far as is humanly possible. Your Excellency, I feel confident that that will also be the attitude of all the Ruling Princes throughout India and that our constant care will be to prove ourselves worthy of our position as allies and friends.

HIS HIGHNESS THE MAHARAJA OF PATIALA :

YOUR EXCELLENCY, the day before yesterday we all listened with quickened pulses and with rapt attention to Your Excellency's address and the message of His Majesty the King-Emperor to the Princes and people of India. No one who had the honour of listening to the gracious message could help being struck with the tender solicitude which His Majesty expresses for all of us, and the kind appreciation of our services which every word of the message breathes is no small reward for whatever humble services we have been able to render to His Majesty and the Empire.

Our efforts have been spontaneous and born of our deeply-rooted sense of loyalty and duty. We have done nothing in a spirit of expectation of rewards. But the gracious way, so peculiarly His own, in which His Majesty has shown his appreciation, has not failed to

touch our loyal hearts and will act as a vigorous incentive for us to re-double our efforts and to justify the expectations of His Majesty based on the noble traditions of India and her people. I consider it unnecessary to talk platitudes, but I shall say that whenever expression is given to the whole-hearted devotion which the Indian Princes and the Indian people experience for the King-Emperor, that expression is not merely a formality but the outcome of the most genuine feelings arising from the innermost recesses of loyal and devoted hearts. To be loyal, to be grateful, to venerate the King-Emperor, is a quality in the possession of which Indians are unsurpassed. I am sure I am voicing the opinion of the whole order of Indian Princes when I say that, as devoted allies of His Majesty and the sincere well-wishers and friends of the British Government, we are prepared to do our duty to our utmost capacity. The benefits which the British Raj has conferred on India are too well known and too clearly realised to need further emphasis from me on this occasion. We have enjoyed undisturbed peace and prosperity, and now that these priceless boons are menaced by the Germans we should rise like one man to avert the menace and make it impossible for the enemy to venture to disturb the tranquillity of the country. I am sure that the Princes and people of India will most cheerfully give a hearty response to the stirring message of His Imperial Majesty and the appeal of Your Excellency, and with one heart do all that is

the felicitous language of Your Excellency, safeguard the sacred soil of the Motherland.

My Lord, coming events cast their shadows before, and to me it seems that nothing could be more meet or proper, more in conformity with the fitness of things, than that, on the threshold of the great experiment of responsible government, this national convention should meet for the highest national and imperial purposes. My Lord, the moral significance of this demonstration is not to be overlooked. We, the people of India, have done our best, or at any rate have tried to do our best, in the service of the Empire. But there were those visitors of hostile origin who, on the eve of the outbreak of the war, indulged in the wildest dreams. German visitors to India on the eve of the war submitted fantastic reports about the situation in this country. They anticipated trouble in India such as was witnessed in Ireland; they anticipated domestic dissensions in our camp; they anticipated the triumph of insidious foreign intrigue in the sacred soil of the Motherland. All these dreams have vanished, they have disappeared into the unknown like the baseless fabric of a vision. But we are not out of danger. The German menace darkly frowns upon the situation. In the language of the Prime Minister the intrigue of Germany bids fair to cast its darkening shadows upon the eastern hemisphere; and at this psychological moment the Princes and the people of India, assembled in solemn

convention, proclaim to the nations of the earth, to the enemies of England in particular, that they are resolved as one man to stand by the Empire in this supreme crisis, and that the changing and evanescent phases of the war will not alter by one hair's breadth their determination to shed the last drop of their blood and spend the last penny in their coffers in the service of that great Empire to which we are all so proud to belong.

My Lord, we Indians are wedded to the exalted ethical traditions of the East, sanctified by the hallowed memories of the divinely inspired founder of Islamism and of that saintly prince who flung away the splendours of royalty in order that he might become the apostle of humanity. These are the exalted traditions of the East. The British Empire to which we belong stands for justice and freedom, the bulwark of justice and freedom against the aggression of the Huns. Our sovereign has drawn his sword in the cause of righteousness, for the protection of the rights of minor nationalities, for the vindication of the sanctity of treaty obligations. I ask, is there an Indian within the range of my voice or outside the range of my voice, no matter what may be the character or the complexion of his religious faith or of his political convictions, be he a prince or a peasant, who, witnessing this titanic conflict, does not feel a glow of patriotic fervour and an added resolve to participate in the sufferings and the

sacrifices incidental to this colossal world war? My Lord, if Your Excellency will permit me to make a personal remark, I will say this, that if I were 40 years younger, or if perennial youth had been vouchsafed to me as it was vouchsafed to some of the gods of old, I should have deemed it the pride and the privilege of my life to have enlisted as a private soldier in the Bengali battalion now fighting in Mesopotamia. However that may be, such is our unalterable faith in the supremacy of the moral laws that govern the universe, that we are firmly assured of the ultimate success of the Allies, of the complete vindication of the principles for which they are fighting, of their extension to our people, and of our eventual participation in this triumph. The portals of the temple of Liberty will be flung wide open to us as the result of this war. Therefore, my Lord, every one of us, prince or peasant, is directly, personally, interested in the success of this war. The Maharajas have testified to the loyalty of their people. My Lord, speaking of the educated community, I will say that we are devotedly attached to the person of His-Majesty and to the British connection. Our loyalty has its roots in the emotions, but it is dominated by the behests of the reasoned judgment, for we believe that with the stability and indeed the permanence of British rule are bound up the best prospects of India's advancement, nay more, the fulfilment of our high mission in history. My Lord, I believe that we, the people of India, still have a

great mission before us in the future. I was described as an impatient idealist in this Council Chamber. I am somewhat of an idealist, impatient or patient. I have an undying faith in the destinies of my race. In the morning of the world, when Asoka and Kanishka reigned, our ancestors were the spiritual leaders of mankind. That is their destined portion, their mission in the future of humanity, and that mission can only be fulfilled by association with and through the co-operation of a great Empire such as the Empire of Britain is to-day. My Lord, our permanent association with the British Empire thus becomes an indissoluble fact in the evolution of our national destinies. That is my political creed, has been my political creed through a period of 50 years, and I venture to submit that that is the political creed of educated India.

One word more, my Lord, and I am done. We return to our homes strengthened and confirmed in the determination to do all that we can to assist the Empire in mobilising our men and our money. We have difficulties; we appeal to Your Excellency's Government to remove them and to afford us facilities. And may I be permitted to appeal to Your Excellency to follow the policy which indeed is your own policy of trust and courageous confidence in the people, a policy, which in the words of the "Pioneer" newspaper, will appeal to their imagination. Such a policy

will evoke their enthusiastic gratitude; their wholehearted co-operation. It is such a policy that enthroned Akbar and his Government in the hearts of the people, and we commend it to the acceptance of the British Government. My Lord, you have asked us to make such sacrifices as may be necessary to safeguard the sacred soil of the Motherland. We desire to assure Your Excellency of our wholehearted response to this appeal. The word Motherland strikes a responsive chord in our hearts, and calls forth all that is highest and noblest and purest in our nature.

My Lord, I hope that the German menace will melt away; but if it does not, if the Germans come and come within a measureable distance of our frontiers, then I will say this that behind the serried ranks of one of the finest armies in the world they will find the multitudinous races and people of India banded together as one man and resolved to die in the defence of their hearth and homes, the sacred soil of their Motherland and of that great Empire which now stands before the civilized world as the emblem of justice and freedom. That, my Lord, is our reply to the German menace. May it be proclaimed through the four corners of the world, may it be sounded in the streets of Berlin, may it be communicated to the supreme German command.

It is not a message of bravado but the deliberate expression of the national resolve which we are prepared

to ratify, to seal and to consecrate with the blood and the treasure of our Princes and of our people. India will not fail in her duty in the supreme crisis of the Empire. We are devotedly attached to the British connection, whole-heartedly responsive to the call of the Empire, for we feel, my Lord, that it is a call from on high, from the Great Disposer of the destinies of men and nations, from the God of justice and freedom.

HON'BLE RAJA OF MAHMUDABAD :

My Lord, it is not only a privilege but a duty which I rise to perform. I am deeply sensible of the privilege that I should have been selected to support the resolution which my illustrious friend His Highness the Gaekwar of Baroda has proposed in such eloquent and fitting terms; and which has been supported by the other great Princes of India, and by such a distinguished representative of the people as my friend the Hon'ble Mr. Surendranath Banerjea and is to be supported by other equally distinguished representatives. The gracious and at the same time stirring message of His Majesty the King-Emperor of India is a clarion call to the millions of his devoted subjects; and I am sure the response of the people of India will be such as to give a fresh proof to the world of the profoundness of the attachment and loyalty of this vast continent to the sovereign who has drawn his sword in the defence of justice and freedom and who will not sheath it until both are vindicated.

The Empire is passing through a great crisis—a crisis the magnitude of which is not perhaps fully realised by many of us. But every one in India is animated by one resolve, namely, to see this conflict through to victory, and in the words of the resolution to continue to do his duty to his utmost capacity.

India would have been with her Sovereign in any case, but the consciousness that the struggle is no longer that of one nation or a combination of nations against another, but of autocracy against democracy, of freedom against repression, she is ready for any sacrifice which may be demanded or which may be found necessary. We Indians feel confident that the victory of the Allies means the victory of freedom; a victory that will bring freedom to India as to the rest of the world and that consequently no sacrifice is too great for such a cause.

The Mohammadans of India, to which community I have the honour to belong, have sacrificed their lives ungrudgingly in defence of the Empire and of the cause for which it is fighting in spite of the fact that unfortunate causes existed which would have adversely influenced the mind of Moslem India as to the character of the war and it is a matter of great pride to my community that it has emerged so triumphantly out of a great ordeal.

HON'BLE MR. S. SASTRI :

MY LORD, in a few, simple graphic words Your Excellency depicted to us the imminence of the grave peril not only to the Empire but to India as well in a closer sense than heretofore in the history of the war; that peril is not less than German domination. We all know what that means, it is not merely the spoliation of wealth, it is not merely the destruction of towns but it is the dishonouring of women. It is further the enslavement of the people, and saddest of sad things, when we became slaves of Germany we would probably be compelled to fight in her armies and be used for the further enslavement of the people of Asia and of Europe. From that great shame and dishonour I have no doubt that the soul of India will rise in revolt. I have no doubt that to your lordship's call the answer will be an enthusiastic and whole-hearted rising throughout this country. No words are necessary to bring before our minds how indissolubly, in the words of my countryman Babu Surendranath Banerjea, the fortunes of India are wrapped up with those of the British Empire. I am one of those whose faith is inextinguishable in the genius and justice of the British Empire; in spite of lapses and grievous back-slidings now and then, in spite of reactionary utterances from authorities, in spite of temporary vacillations of policy, I hold to the faith that behind the institutions of England, embedded in her very genius there is

the principle of progress, a principle which must inevitably lead her and those whose fortunes are connected with hers to the attainment of self-determining freedom. In the fulness of that faith, I call upon my countrymen, no that would be somewhat impertinent, I recall that remark, I record my full faith that, all my countrymen will do everything in their power down to the shedding of their blood if necessary, in the defence not only of the Empire but in defence of everything that they hold sacred. Your Excellency told us the day before yesterday that in the triumph of England we shall probably see spacious days. I have full faith, as I said before, that when spacious days dawn upon England there is no power either in England or anywhere under the sun that will make the deeds of India narrow and cramping. All that was embedded in the resolution which Your Excellency felt bound to overrule, all the aspirations of my countrymen—I make no doubt whatever that they will be realised in their fulness if only the first and paramount condition is fulfilled, and it is in our power to help that fulfilment. If that condition is fulfilled all else that we hold dear is secured. The duty of everyone in this country is summed up in these words—stand now by the British Empire and your destiny is assured.

MR. HASSAN IMAM :

YOUR EXCELLENCY, YOUR HIGHNESSES AND

GENTLEMEN, on behalf of the province of Bihar and Orissa I most cordially support this resolution.

MR. M. K. GANDHI :

YOUR EXCELLENCY, YOUR HIGHNESSES AND GENTLEMEN, I consider myself honoured to find myself one of the supporters of this resolution. I fully realise all that the resolution means and I tender my support to it with all my heart.

HON'BLE PUNDIT MADAN MOHAN MALAVIA :

YOUR EXCELLENCY, YOUR HIGHNESSES AND GENTLEMEN, it is hardly necessary for me now to add any words of mine to the eloquent speeches which have been delivered already to commend the resolution to the acceptance of this Conference. The situation has been so well described in language of eloquence and reason by those who have spoken before me that it will be an act of superfluity to dwell upon that aspect of the case. We also know what the appeal from His Majesty the King-Emperor has been. The only question before the country is to respond whole-heartedly to that appeal, and I am gratified and proud to find that the honoured Ruling Princes of India and my countrymen are responding whole-heartedly to that appeal.

It is well, however, to draw attention to a few realities of the situation connected with this resolution.

The assurance of our loyalty is going forth to His Majesty. That is right and proper. But as my esteemed friend Mr. Gandhi has said he has realised what it means in its fulness, I wish for a moment to draw attention to what it means in its fulness. His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner has referred to the splendid services which India has already rendered in the cause of the Empire since the war began. We have contributed about 6 lakhs of men as combatants. It is now proposed that not less than 5 lakhs, probably 6 lakhs of men, should be raised during the coming year. The task is a huge one. It is not so easily done. It will not be done without a great deal of earnest effort and endeavour. I am sure there is a guarantee in the utterances of those who have spoken, and more than that, in the presence of this distinguished assembly, that that effort and endeavour shall be made. But, my Lord, let us for a moment think further what it means. We are appealing to the people of India, to the humbler people of India, to come forward to enlist in the army and to risk their lives for their Motherland and their King-Emperor. In other countries where education and a long course of civilization have inculcated patriotic sentiments in the minds of the people of even the humbler classes the task has not been found to be free from difficulty. When we consider the condition of the people of India, the great illiteracy that pervades the land, the task becomes more difficult, and I claim it that it redounds to the great credit of my countrymen

that in spite of that unfortunate drawback, my countrymen have responded to the call in the manner in which they have done. In this endeavour to call forth another 6 lakhs of people there are two things which we must bear in mind in order that we may do our duty by the country and the King in the right spirit. The effort should be made on a voluntary basis, and I hope there will be no unlawful pressure exerted upon anybody to join the army,—I hope we shall persuade the people by our reason, by our eloquence, by our personal example by sending our sons and relations to join the forces, in fact by every legitimate means in our power, we shall by example and precept lead our countrymen willingly and cheerfully to respond to this call of duty.

Now, my Lord, let us assume that we shall, as I hope, get the men. A great deal will then depend upon their quality. It is not mere numbers which count in such a terrible fight as is going on. I want to draw attention for a moment to the need of taking every possible step to infuse the right spirit into the men whom we are by our persuasion and example going to ask to risk their lives in the services of their King and country. My Lord, many efforts have been made in that direction in other lands. Here too it will be necessary to make those efforts.

There may be some who may hold that the poor people of India, that the poor peasants, not sufficiently fed always, not educated and generally not very well

off, do not supply the necessary fighting material. My Lord, I will not weigh that indictment. I will take it that they are, even as some people suppose, not sufficiently strong, not sufficiently robust. But there is one thing that can be done and to which I would invite Your Excellency's attention and the attention of the Government. I will ask you and I will ask every one interested in doing his duty in this situation to take a lesson from recent Indian history. I refer to the time of Aurangzebe. I do not refer to it in any spirit of disrespect, I hope nobody will misunderstand me. During the time of Aurangzebe when his power was very deeply planted the Sikh Gurus found it necessary to contest the supremacy of the country with him. Guru Govind Singh had to deal with an indifferent material; he had to deal with men who had not been trained previously to fight, but he adopted a certain principle. He caught hold of the humbler classes,—he did not wait to find men only from the Rajputs and the Brahmins, he caught hold of the humblest class of people who came forward, and what did he do? He initiated them and in return asked those *chelas* to initiate him as their disciple. He obliterated all distinctions between the guru and the disciple, and thereby caught hold of their hearts. My Lord, there is a couplet which we all honour "thou art teacher, thou art pupil." Now, I want, my Lord, that all that can be done should be done to make the soldiers whom we are going to ask to enlist feel that their position is equal to the position of anyone else

fighting alongside of them on the battlefield. I feel, my Lord, it is a duty to the Government and to my people to say at this juncture, in this grave crisis with which the Empire is confronted, when Your Excellency tell us that the Empire is fighting to assert the honoured principle that right is might and might is not right, when we are asking the humble peasants to come forward, to bear arms in comradeship with the best trained troops of His Majesty, that there should be one inspiring action, one inspiring rule laid down, and that is that they should feel that they stand shoulder to shoulder with their fellow-subjects on the field of battle and that there is an equality of opportunities and equality of privileges open to them all.

My Lord, some of my friends have referred to the question of the declaration for responsible government. That may come or it may not, though I think it will be an advantage if it does come, but what I wish to draw Your Excellency's attention to is the removal of all military disabilities under which Indians labour at present. Let all branches of military service, on the land, in the air and on the sea, be open to Indians as well as to Europeans. Let all distinctions which stand in the way of Indians obtaining commissions, I mean the King's Commissions in the army and in the new army that is to be, let all those distinctions be once and for ever removed. Let Indian soldiers, — they may get less pay — I recognise that there is reason why they

should get less pay than their brethren, but let Indian soldiers feel that, though their pay is less, the spirit of treatment is the same, that though they may be weaker, though they may be less educated, they are given the same treatment as is given to their British fellow subjects. My Lord, it is the spirit of Guru Govind Singh that I want to be introduced at this juncture in the administration of India and particularly in the army. I feel, my Lord, certain that if that spirit is once created, if that spirit pervades the appeal in which His Majesty's Indian and European fellow subjects are asked to come and stand up to fight the enemy, I feel sure, my Lord, that these humble peasants of India who are poorly fed and ill educated, will display the same spirit which was displayed in the time of Guru Govind Singh when they broke the power of a mighty monarch, and they will prove equal to the occasion and defeat the Germans who are endeavouring to put us in a bad position in regard to our own land and who are endangering the liberty of a great part of the world. I feel, my Lord, that that spirit has to be inculcated. I am glad to say that the committees which Your Excellency was pleased to appoint have made certain recommendations in that direction, and I am glad to feel that some of those recommendations, I know, are going to be accepted, but I have felt it my duty, my Lord, to press this matter upon Your Excellency and through Your Excellency upon His Majesty's Government that at this crisis no narrow spirit should dominate

the situation. We have been told, and I am glad that His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner said that, that loyalty does not want a price, it is not a thing to be bartered. What we feel is that the conditions which are necessary to enable Indians who are enlisted in the army to do their utmost and to do their best are not present. If you want a man to fight you need to put some steam into him, you need to give him some food and some clothing to meet the inclemencies of the weather, otherwise he cannot fight on equal conditions. I want that steam to be supplied, my Lord, in the shape of freedom and equality of treatment which should pervade the whole atmosphere of India and the fields where the Indians and the British soldier may be fighting, so that the humblest man, the humblest Indian, who joins the service may feel that he is equal to the highest in command in the matter of equality of privilege and opportunity. I hope, my Lord, this thing will be taken into consideration.

As for the declaration, I do think, as I have said, that if that does not come that will matter less than a declaration of this equality of opportunity and equality of privileges for all subjects of His Majesty who join His Majesty's forces. But, my Lord, there is a value in the declaration also. The constitutional reforms, to which Your Excellency referred in your opening speech may not be, and I feel, cannot be announced in all their details at this juncture. But, my Lord, it has a moral

effect on men. When we ask people to join the army and to risk their lives, I feel that if Your Excellency should think it fit to advise His Majesty's Government to make a declaration in such language, in such form and in such manner as will commend itself to Your Excellency and to His Majesty's Government to indicate that a new day of freedom is dawning upon India, that a day of equal opportunity and equal privileges is dawning upon India, my Lord that will go further than anything else that I can think of in putting the new spirit into the people and enlisting their services in the cause of the Empire. I commend these few points for Your Excellency's consideration.

HON'BLE MR. W. A. IRONSIDE :

YOUR EXCELLENCY, YOUR HIGHNESSES AND GENTLEMEN, after the flow of eloquence to which we have heard I feel myself but ill equipped to express adequately, on behalf of the great community which I have the honour to represent, our hopes, our desires, our determination and our faith, at least an outward and visible sign of that faith. I fear my words may appear ineffective and insufficient, but I assure you, Sir, they are genuine and spoken from the heart. Few of us have the knowledge or the opportunity of oratory or rhetoric, but I am sincere in every word I utter. We are proud in the claim that we make that we are men and women of British birth, and not, as some would

say, mere strangers in a strange land. We are as much a part and parcel of the Empire as though we lived in London or any other portion of His Majesty's dominions, and that in spite of the fact that remembrances of childhood's days carry us back at times to a place which we cherish by the name of home. Every man and woman, Sir, places himself and herself unreservedly at your disposal. Tell us what you want of us and how you want it done—and I might mention, Sir, that we feel that we have had very little asked of us since we came here—and there will, I assure you, be no faint-hearted response. If you want Man Power and Resources, they are at your disposal. We wish to range ourselves on equal terms with our people from the other portions of the empire and to feel that no insidious distinction is levelled against the European community of India.

I am not going to descend, my Lord, to politics, but I would like to take this great opportunity to assure my Indian neighbours, friends I hope they will allow me to call and consider them, that the future welfare of this country, when the present great adventure is over, when this war has been finished and final victory achieved, will by frank and honest endeavour on our part in co-operation with them, be our first and our happiest concern. The men of my community in ever-increasing numbers view India's necessities through different glasses each day and are ready when their hands are freed of this sterner work to take a

hand in looking to India's future. Your Excellency, no words of mine can spur us to further effort. The heroic example of our men and our women are surely enough. We have lost, those of us who are left, all that are dearest and best, but they died that England should live. The men of the "Vindictive" last week, the "Vindictive" and her escorting vessels, left behind no words, but an example for all time and for all people. They gave all for their country, so surely gentlemen this is no time to place a restriction on our duty. The road to conquest must, I know, mean greater trial and greater sacrifices, but we will endure unto the end by a great and abiding faith in the justice and righteousness of our cause and in the God of our fathers, to bring us to final victory. In my poor way, my Lord, I have given you a message from the people of my community and race. You will not find us wanting to act our part and justify ourselves as true citizens of His Majesty.

**HON'BLE SARDAR BAHADUR SUNDER SINGH
MAJITHIA:**

YOUR EXCELLENCY, YOUR HIGHNESSES AND GENTLEMEN, on behalf of my province I rise to support the resolution that has been placed before this representative assembly by His Highness the Gaekwar of Baroda. When this war of aggression began every true and loyal heart was stirred to its core and a wave of enthusiasm spread

from end to end of this vast Empire, and men of every shade of opinion promptly asserted their determination to place their resources in men and money at the disposal of His Imperial Majesty the King-Emperor of India. We in the Punjab have from time immemorial borne the brunt of many an invasion, and since the troublous time of the Mutiny of 1857 the sons of the soil have upheld their past glory and traditional loyalty to the British throne. We are proud of being called the sword-arm of the Empire, and it is with pardonable pride that we Punjabis can claim that in this world-war the brave sons of the soil have upheld their traditions and borne all the sacrifices cheerfully, and every class and community has come forward manfully in the service of the Empire. Since the war began we have, as announced by our popular Lieutenant-Governor in his recent Budget speech, given in response to the call of the Empire, over 300,000 men in the army and auxiliary services, and it will interest you to know that out of this total, 125,000 were given in the first $2\frac{1}{2}$ years of the war and 127,000 in the past year, besides 80,000 as non-combatants. My Muhammadan brethren have contributed 118,000, the Hindus 63,000, and my humble community, which is only 12 per cent. of the total population, 65,000. The percentage of the different communities to the male population of fighting age is as under:—

	Per cent.
Muhammadans from Northern Punjab .	. 10.5
Muhammadans from Southern Punjab .	. 7.3

Hindu Jats	11·3
Dogras and Christians	9·0
Hindu Rajputs	11
Sikhs	11
Hindu Ahirs	18

I am not making any invidious comparisons, but in the last year the Punjab has given over 127,000 as compared with 137,000 for all the rest of India. Leaving the above aside, the Conference must have learned with genuine pleasure the splendid offer of our Ruling Chiefs to come to the support of the Empire in this juncture, and the Punjab as a whole and we Sikhs especially are proud that our premier Prince the Maharaja Sahib of Patiala has set a most worthy example in supplying three additional regiments to the Empire. The terrible war we know has been forced upon us by the militant barbarism of the German Empire, and with a paramount regard for true faith and the pledged word to rulers and peoples, which is a common heritage of the British Empire, our King-Emperor unsheathed the sword to stem the unparalleled assault upon civilization and the peace of mankind. And the Indian Empire as a whole, in addition to past sacrifices, stands firm with the resolution to uphold the honour and prestige of the country, and we are proud that from the Prince to the peasant all are determined to fight this war to a successful termination for the righteous cause of His Imperial Majesty the

King-Emperor and her allies. On behalf of the different communities inhabiting my province I beg to tender our whole-hearted support to the resolution that has been put before this representative assembly, and I am confident that all communities in my province will leave no stone unturned, and will strive their utmost in the service of the Empire, and no sacrifice will be too great to be cheerfully borne in the sacred cause that has been espoused by our Gracious Sovereign. My humble community, the followers of Sat Guru Nanak, has done this and is constantly keeping before it their traditions and their connection with the British Government. It will not be found wanting in its devotion and duty to the Empire in the future. In the immortal words of our Saviour :—

“Grant, O Timeless One, that I will not Hesitate from doing good deeds, that I will not fear an enemy when I go to fight him and may be confident of victory, that I may educate my mind always to sing the praises of the Almighty, and when my last moments draw near, I may lay down my life fighting on the battlefield.”

My brethren will willingly and cheerfully lay down their lives in the service of the great Empire under whose ægis peace, happiness and prosperity are assured to all. My friend the Honourable Pundit Madan Mohan Malaviya has referred to our sacred Guru's deeds. The fold of the community is open to all to

come and dip at the immortality of the Guru, and if they would come they would be welcome to join us in joining the armies of the Empire in this crisis. With these few words I beg, on behalf of my province, heartily to support the resolution.

HON'BLE MAUNG BAH TOO :

MY LORD, on behalf of the people of Burma I heartily support the resolution before this house. I am confident that Burma will come forth at this time of the Empire's need, and do all in its power to meet every demand that may be made on it.

HON'BLE SIR G. M. CHITNAVIS :

YOUR EXCELLENCY, YOUR HIGHNESSES AND GENTLEMEN, after the support that the resolution moved by His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwar has received from the several speakers of the different provinces and principalities, it is unnecessary for me to say much in support of it. As coming from the Central Provinces and Berar, I assure Your Excellency that the desire to help the Government in response to His Gracious Majesty's wishes in this crisis is nowhere greater and keener than in the provinces from which I come. We have until now, as loyal citizens of the Empire, done the little we could in the way of voluntary aid and other war contributions, and I further assure Your Excellency that we will not be found wanting when further necessities

require increased exertions in this direction. We realise that the Empire is at present under a cloud and danger, and that danger could only be removed by single and joint action in this present crisis of each individual member of the Empire. People in this country are proud of the services rendered by our country's soldiers in this crisis in the theatre of war. We also realise how hard and severe is the struggle in which our fellow subjects are engaged, fighting against innumerable odds. We also know what great sacrifices the people of the Empire here and elsewhere are rendering in this great crisis. All these are object lessons which captivate the imagination of our people. We therefore with all our countrymen know that we have duties of a very responsible character to perform in this crisis, both as members of the Empire and in protection of our own hearths and homes. So far as I have been able to find out, I assure Your Excellency that there is but one thought throughout the land, and that is how best to serve our King and country in this crisis.

There may be here and there some differences of opinion and where is the country where there are no such differences, but those differences are not meant to withhold from help and to embarrass Government. They are also, I feel sure, fast disappearing and will fast disappear under the stress of a common danger and under the influence of wiser counsels both on the part of Govern-

ment and the more active thinkers among us. I have spoken above of the cloud—the dark and heavy cloud—that is enveloping us all at the present moment, but there is no cause for despair and there is a consolation which we will all take to ourselves. In the first place it is essentially necessary that we all, members of this common Empire, should have one common mind against this imminent common danger and try to keep ourselves undivided as citizens of one common Empire, whether Hindus or Muhammadans, Christians or Parsis, Europeans or Asiatics. Our fellow citizenship should be our only universal caste. All other considerations in the face of this common danger should be done away with. United we stand, divided we fall. The next consolation which we ought to take to ourselves, I take from John Bright in words left to us by an inspired king who was both a bard and a prophet. He has left us words which are not only the expression of facts but which we may take as utterance of a prophecy. He says “To the upright and the dutiful there ariseth light even out of darkness.” Let us try therefore in this crisis to be upright, dutiful and undivided. Let each one determine to himself that he and his Empire will not be conquered. Let us try to be just both to ourselves and the great Empire wherein we live. Then only you will find that the clouds will have been dispersed. The danger which surrounds us will then all vanish and we may yet have by God’s blessing the happiness of leaving

to our children the heritage of an honourable but free-citizenship in an united and prosperous Empire.

With these words I beg to support the resolution on behalf of the people of my province.

HON'BLE MR. K. K. CHANDA :

YOUR EXCELLENCY, YOUR HIGHNESSES AND GENTLEMEN, I rise as the representative of Assam to give my whole-hearted support to the resolution which has been so eloquently placed before the Conference. In doing so, my Lord, I feel that I need do no more than simply associate myself with the feelings which have been expressed by previous speakers. My Lord, the telegrams which have passed between the Prime Minister and Your Excellency have deeply stirred our feelings. The gracious message of His Majesty the King-Emperor has carried these feelings to their highest pitch. For once India is breathing as one unit, speaking with one voice and standing as one man resolved to offer a united front to the enemy in case he contemplates the invasion of the sacred Motherland. My Lord, all racial, all communal, all religious differences are now laid aside in the presence of the danger to which the Motherland is exposed. The demands of our loyalty to the King-Emperor, the demands of our loyalty to our country, the demands of our religion, which three are one to us, all make it certain and imperative that the

response which we shall make to His Majesty's call and to Your Excellency's appeal shall be most whole-hearted and enthusiastic.

With these words, my Lord, I support this resolution.

MR. SAAD-UD-DIN :

YOUR EXCELLENCY, YOUR HIGHNESSES AND GENTLEMEN, the North-West Frontier Province is a poor province, a very poor province, in fact the poorest province in India, but it yields to none in unflinching and sincere loyalty. The only asset to our credit is our fighting spirit, and hitherto we have tried to discharge our duty to the Empire and to His Majesty the King-Emperor by sending perhaps the greatest number of men to the army. I assure Your Excellency that in future Your Excellency will find us prepared and ready as ever to fulfil our duty and to be prepared for every possible sacrifice. This is a time for action and my countrymen are more for action than words ; but I may say that the inspiring message of His Gracious Majesty will inspire further zeal and enthusiasm among us.

With these words I beg to support the resolution on behalf of the North-West Frontier Province.

The resolution was then put to the Conference and carried unanimously.

Resolution II.

H. H. THE MAHARAJA OF KASHMIR:

YOUR EXCELLENCY, YOUR HIGHNESSES AND GENTLEMEN, it gives me great pleasure to be called upon to move the following resolution :—

“That this Conference cordially endorses the recommendations submitted by the Sub-Committees and commends them to the early consideration of, and for adoption by, the Government of India and His Majesty's Government.”

There could be no situation more grave and hence no effort or sacrifice could be considered too great while compared with this critical time. It is our *dharma* to protect our hearths and homes but it becomes still more sacred—*paramadharma*—to serve our King and Country. When the war broke out, I gave my humble, but solemn, word to do all that lay in my power; and it is a great satisfaction to me to say that I have been able to keep my word. I may be excused for mentioning that during the last three and a half years of the greatest struggle that the world has ever seen, my State stands second to none in the supply of Man Power—the vital need of the day—both for the Indian Army and the State troops, and that the number of recruits supplied from my State exceeds ten per cent. of the male population of fighting age. Besides this the State has also been spending almost one-fourth of its whole revenue for military purposes.

Your Excellency, I have so far done my bit to the best of my power and ability, and allow me to further assure you that I and my people will flinch from no further sacrifice, however great, that we may be called upon to make, and, I hope, that my countrymen throughout India, from peasant to prince, will respond with equal enthusiasm as the occasion demands. India has already shown not only by words but also by deeds her loyalty and devotion to His Imperial Majesty the King-Emperor. She has identified herself with the great cause of righteousness for which our King-Emperor and his allies are fighting; and I am sure that she will be further prepared to bear cheerfully any sacrifice to bring this war to a successful conclusion.

With these few words, I cordially move the resolution. .

HIS HIGHNESS THE MAHARAO OF CUTOH:

YOUR EXCELLENCY, I have much pleasure in supporting the resolution which has just been proposed by His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir.

The two reports submitted by the Sub-Committees reached me this morning, and after careful perusal of these two reports I feel that I have no hesitation in saying that within the short time at the disposal of the Sub-Committee on resources they have placed before us a well-considered and carefully planned scheme which

covers much of the ground on which they had to deliberate.

The principal points dealt with in the recommendations of the Committee are the practice of economy by both Government and the people, relief of the congestion of traffic, development of food resources, cultivation of waste lands, the construction of rivercraft, etc., the control of prices to a limited extent, encouragement of local industry by all reasonable means by Government and the formation of local and provincial committees to initiate, supervise and control the effective carrying out of these proposals. These measures are so eminently practical and necessary at this juncture that they do not require any further words from me to commend them to this Conference. As has been so ably pointed out by so many eloquent speakers who preceded me, they are necessary and what is required at this moment is that due attention should be paid to the maxim that deeds and not words will tell in this war. I would humbly beg that this maxim should not be lost sight of at this momentous crisis. Therefore, I would strongly urge that unnecessary destructive criticism should be avoided because it means disintegration and disunion and that we should show a united front and a genuine determination to work our hardest and do our duty in right earnest until our goal has been achieved. We are proud to know that we, the Princes and people of India, have acquitted ourselves in

of the British people it is because we have a more urgent duty to fulfil. Trust begets trust and we know that, if we can, with the mercy of providence, succeed in doing what the occasion demands us to do, old England, on whom we repose our confidence, will not be slow to respond to our needs. The responsibility at this moment is ours and when there is a silver lining to the clouds the responsibility will be hers. For the present India is enthusiastically bent on sharing the glories in the common cause of the Empire which is being fought out on the battlefields. In this vast gathering which readily assembled at Your Excellency's invitation I see no British India, or Native States before me to-day. It is one India, a united India with a singleness of mind and purpose. Two busy days have been spent by the members of this conference in devising the best means for the adoption of urgent measures to meet the situation arising out of the crisis through which the Empire is passing at the present time. There are certain remedies which I may mention, particularly such as the free granting of the King's commissions to Indians, the raising of the pay of the Indian soldiers; the establishing of institutions in India as military training colleges for its sons, which have to be dealt with in the resolutions and which if applied in a generous spirit of trust are calculated to produce instant results in accelerating recruiting.

In cordially supporting the resolution which covers

these and other points I would join earnestly in commending it for the early consideration of and adoption by the Government of India and His Majesty's Government.

Before concluding I will say only a few more words. In this hall we hold the fair name and fame of India in our hands. Here we come to resolve to perform what we ought and hence we go to perform without fail what we resolve. Our countrymen have their eyes fixed on us. The people will ask 'what have you given' and 'what have you asked for'? The answers can be summed up in one word "trust". I may not be a British Indian but I am an Indian and as such I say that in this supreme hour of the need of the Empire for the fair name of our mother country this is the opportunity to close our ranks and to prove to the world that we can respond to trust and confidence in a manner which can become the envy of others. Then when sunshine comes again and the clouds of war disappear we shall have reason to look back upon a past on which we can await the verdict of history with legitimate pride and confidence. In the dutiful message which goes in reply to the message from the Throne we all combine in emphasising once again our assurances of loyalty and attachment to the person of His Majesty and we send with it our prayers for victory.

HIS HIGHNESS THE MAHARAJ RANA OF DHOLPUR :

The report of the two Sub-Committees on Man-power and Resources have made it abundantly clear that India is capable of rendering even greater help to the Empire than she has had the privilege of doing so far. The committees have pointed out the ways and means in their recommendations. As regards man-power, it is my firm belief that our joint efforts will very soon enable us to place at the disposal of His Majesty's Government all the man-power that India can raise. The more vivid realization of the crisis through which the Empire is passing will stir up India's manhood, and I trust that her sturdy gallant youths will flock in thousands to the standard of the Empire over which the sun never sets. With regard to resources, we are all aware that India possesses vast resources, many of which remain unexplored. This is India's opportunity and should not be lost. We must make up our minds that India shall produce more and allow no possible waste. We should resolve to practise strict economy, to encourage and stimulate agricultural industries, to give up the importation of luxuries, to lessen the strain on the railways, and we shall be rendering valuable help to the cause of justice and righteousness and doing no more than our duty. Let everyone of us try to bring it home to as many people as we can influence that the supreme duty of every

Indian in the present crisis is to try in however humble a way to do his little bit for the Empire. The consciousness of having done our duty will be an ample reward. With these few words I beg to support the resolution.

HIS HIGHNESS THE MAHARAJA OF KAPUR-
THALA :

YOUR EXCELLENCY, I beg cordially to support the resolution that has been moved by His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir.

Man-power and the mobilization of our material resources are by common consent regarded as vital to the efficient and successful prosecution of the war.

India has, doubtless, ever since the fateful day when German callousness and arrogance plunged the unsuspecting world into the meshes of the most terrible war it has ever known, rallied to the British cause wholeheartedly and without reserve. Her people, both Prince and peasant, have proved staunch and unflinching and have cheerfully responded to every call that has been made on their sense of patriotic duty. When the history of the past few years comes to be written, I anticipate with confidence that no inglorious page will be allotted to the part India has so far played in the great struggle.

But, alas, the end of the travails of mankind does not

yet appear to be in sight. The doom of Prussian militarism has not so far been definitely sealed. On the contrary, gloating over the agonies of Russia and making full use of the opportunity her collapse offers, the legions of the Hun are making one last desperate attempt to break down the Allied resistance and to place themselves in a position to impose a peace that will lay the foundation of a bitterer and a more sanguinary clash of arms in the near future.

Your Excellency, it scarcely needs to be urged that to prevent such a catastrophe and to avert the possibility of another wanton interference with the clock of the world's progress no sacrifice would be too intolerable, no effort would be too great on the part of those who value the sanctity of their hearths and homes and the welfare of their country above every other conceivable consideration. To achieve this noble end an unstinted supply of man-power and a proper husbanding of other resources are undoubtedly a prime and urgent necessity. That this aspect of the situation is keenly realised by the Ruling Princes and the people of India is clear from the assurances of loyal and enthusiastic support Your Excellency has been receiving ever since the publication of the stirring messages recently exchanged between yourself and the Prime Minister. Coming as I do from the Punjab, a province that can already boast of a brilliant record in its contribution in men and money, I may perhaps be pardoned

for giving vent to a feeling of pride that it, including the States, has not lagged behind in affirming its determination to redouble its efforts to meet the grave emergency that has arisen. I may be allowed to say that my own Imperial Service regiment of infantry, which is already nearly double its peace strength, has been on active service in East Africa for over 3 years, taking its share in the overthrow of German colonial power in that country, and is now being refitted, and I have measures under consideration to increase its strength so that it may be of greater use and service to His Majesty's Government when it again proceeds to another theatre of war. I have not the least doubt that we, the Princes and people of this country, shall close our ranks in one supreme endeavour to combat effectually the forces of barbarism that menace our very existence and thereby render our response worthy of Your Excellency's trumpet-call and of the traditions of our Motherland.

HON'BLE SIR P. S. SIVASWAMI AIYER :

YOUR EXCELLENCY, after the speeches which have been made by Their Highnesses the Maharaja of Kashmir and the other Maharajas who have moved and supported this resolution, very few words are needed from me to commend it for the acceptance of this Conference. It is hardly necessary for me to refer in detail to any of the recommendations of the committees. They all breathe a spirit of co-operation between the

Government and the people—co-operation loyal and hearty for the purpose of helping the Empire to tide over the present crisis and march to victory—victory not for the purpose of any self-aggrandisement, but for the eternal principles of justice, humanity and freedom for which the gauntlet has been taken up by the Empire,—principles which are held dear by the whole non-Teutonic world, which know of no geographical limitations.

The proposals for the increase of man-power and other measures will undoubtedly involve a large increase of expenditure, but the expenditure must be, and will, I have no doubt, be cheerfully faced by the country. One of the most gratifying recommendations of the committee is the one which relates to the free grant of commissions in the army and the increase of the sepoys' pay. We have the fullest confidence that these recommendations will be interpreted by the Government in no niggardly spirit and that commissions will be as freely granted in the standing army as in the temporary additions to it, and as freely in the Territorial Defence Force as in the regular army.

What is wanted now is a policy of complete mutual trust and identification of the interests of the Government with those of the people. I am sure that the measures of co-operation inaugurated to-day will lead not merely to a temporary suspension of differences but

to the complete eradication of the seeds of mutual distrust between the Government and the people, which has given rise to misapprehension and misunderstanding in the past and will develop a sense of real brotherhood between all communities—a sense of full partnership in the empire consummated by a sense of self-respect, of equality and of the rights of full citizenship in India. This is not the time or the place to go into any controversial questions, but I consider it my duty to state that there has been a sense of disappointment in the country that it has not been possible for the Government to make a pronouncement on the problems of political reconstruction which have been engaging the attention of the people and the Government. We recognise the difficulties which have stood in the way of such a pronouncement. We realize that, to some extent, it has been inevitable; but we have the fullest confidence that in the determination of these questions of political reconstruction, the Government will bring to bear upon them the largest measure of sympathy, trust in the people, imagination and far-sighted statesmanship. I will only add that nothing can so inspire a nation to put forth efforts adequate to the gravity of the issues involved or raise them to the height of mighty issues as the consciousness that they have a worthy destiny to fulfil,—a destiny to be realized not in the remote but in the immediate future.

HON'BLE MR. A. C. MOZUMDAR:

MY LORD, in obedience to your summons we have

met here under the grim shadows of a stupendous calamity, a calamity which in its course has involved the whole world in a conflagration. Scientific barbarism has over-run Europe, trampled under foot the liberties of nations, ruthlessly devastated and destroyed all works of civilization of centuries past, and is now threatening Asia and India with a fate compared with which the vandalism of Tartar hordes under Chingiz Khan would pale into insignificance like a mere locust invasion. The future of England is trembling in the balance and with the fate of England the fate of India is indissolubly bound up. The Prime Minister of England has sounded the trumpet-call to all parts of the Empire to rally round the British flag at this great juncture. Canada, Australia and South Africa have responded to that call, and we have met here to-day to draft India's message to Great Britain. I may be pardoned for saying that we did not wait for any trumpet-call to join in this affray. The Indian Princes and people have long before this trumpet-call joined the titanic struggle, but I may frankly confess that we have not done sufficiently yet. The standing Indian Army was before the war not more than 140,000. Some of these must have fallen on the battlefields of Flanders and France and also in Mesopotamia. What portion of it remains it is for His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief to say. Then we have in the different provinces raised a few regiments here and there. I am not speaking of the

magnificent contribution of their Highnesses. But, my Lord, if we have done so little, it is more our misfortune than our fault that we have not been able to do more. For 150 years or more the whole nation stands disarmed and emasculated ; for 30 long years the Indian people have cried hoarse to enable them to enlist themselves as volunteers or in the army. My Lord, let me not be misunderstood. I do not mention these facts in any sinister or carping spirit, but I only point out that we have lost many opportunities which might have been best utilised at the present moment. We may have grievances against Government, we may have complaints without number against it, but this is neither the time nor the occasion to press these complaints and these grievances and compare with what German domination means. I say to England, "with all thy faults I love thee still."

My Lord, in these two resolutions we have sworn our allegiance, we have pledged our faith, and we have promised our resources for the successful termination of the war, and I wish to tell Your Excellency that these are not mere empty words which find place in these resolutions. They embody our conviction, our firm faith and our firm determination to do what we have promised to do. We shall do our part of the duty, and we shall not expect any reward but leave to the conscience of England to deal by us honestly at the termination of this great war. With these words I heartily support the resolution.

SIR N. G. CHANDRAVARKAR :

YOUR EXCELLENCY, Your Highnesses and Brother Delegates, the resolution which I have the honour to support divides itself into two parts, the first of which relates to man-power and the second part relates to the power of India's resources. It is a happy coincidence that the first part of the resolution relates to man-power because given the raising and the rousing of the man-power of India, which is inexhaustible and immortal, I say the power of India's resources will inevitably follow. My Lord, my friend Pundit Madan Mohan Malaviya in speaking of the attempt made by Guru Govind Singh to raise the man-power of India went briefly into the history of that attempt, but that history and its lessons will not be read aright, the value of it will not be realised, unless we bear in mind the crucial part of it which brings out how that noble and sacred soul of Guru Govind Singh read the minds and the heart of India and roused the man-power of India for the purpose of putting down tyranny and brutality. And that crucial story is most appropriate to the present crisis to the present situation of the British Empire, because it has a very close and intimate application to the crisis through which the world in general and civilization in particular are passing. For how did Guru Govind Singh rouse the man-power of India? He gathered round him a few fugitives from Bengal and the Punjab and said to them in words which now apply to

the German eagle. He said to his followers "Come, I will teach the sparrow to strike the eagle." Now, my Lord, when our sovereign calls upon us to stand up and rally round him and place all our man-power and all our resources at his disposal, may I not say that His Majesty says to his subjects in India, "Come, be bold, present a united front, and I on behalf of the British power, as its sovereign, will teach the spiritual sparrows of India to strike the German eagle."

My Lord, it has been said to-day that India's loyalty is not grounded on barter or on any price. That is a truth which must always be remembered. But it has been said that our loyalty is a matter of reasoned judgment. I go still further and say that our loyalty is a matter of faith, faith resting on certain cardinal principles of your character as Englishmen, your English history, your ancient traditions, the germ of which was laid in the simple words of the *Magna Charta*. Yours is a Government of law and well-ordered liberty and order, and even when you seem to go backward, when you seem to be reactionary, you alone of all the nations which have come in contact with other nations for their betterment, you alone have shown that even while you are going backward, you are moving forward like the waves of the sea which you adore and which constitute your British power and prestige. My Lord, I will not dwell any more on this subject, but in conclusion I wish to say this, His Highness the Maharaja

of Alwar, whose speeches whenever I have read them or heard them have struck me as touching the true core of India's heart and mind, and who seems to have the happy knack of reading that mind and heart, has told us to-day that India is not divided into different classes or different countries. You see to-day a united India ready to live for you and ready to die for you because India draws her inspiration from the fact that it is in her contact with the British nation alone that she shall find her salvation, that in the words of Queen Victoria, written to her Foreign Minister the late Earl Granville, 'England will always love and always strive for the progress of other nations,' and India says to you, says to us, says to the whole world, 'here and here did England help me, what can I do to help England'?

HON'BLE NAWAB ZULFIKAR ALI KHAN :

MY LORD, we are living in stirring times and in times in which, as His Highness the Maharaja of Bikaner in his eloquent speech said, actions rather than words are needed, but words are keener than the sword, and I believe that the voice raised in this council will reach both friends and foes. To the latter it will convey a deadly message of India's firm resolve to carry the war to a successful issue. It will, perhaps, blast Prussia's hope of world-domination and it may help to lead to that desired peace for which the whole world is

waiting. My Lord, for the first time perhaps the sons of India are fighting 6,000 miles away from her shores ; fighting for what ? Fighting for the liberties of nations fighting to secure and strengthen the foundations of her own liberty. My Lord, I have no doubt that India with this load on her shoulders, will reach the goal which her patriots desire. I am sure that no patriot who loves his country has any taste for the devastating cult of Neitzsche, for that unfortunate fate which the German nation has inflicted on Belgium and other trampled nations. With regard to our own opportunities in this country we are united, we are determined that the honour of England will be defended by her sons, whether it is near or 6,000 miles away from India's shores. My Lord, my own province, the province of the five rivers, which has rendered services not during this war only, but during the past history of India, which has saved the Empire on many occasions, will gladly and manfully take the lead of the Empire as it has done in the past.

With these few words I beg to support the resolution.

MR. W. E. ORUM :

YOUR EXCELLENCY, in supporting this resolution, I hope that I may speak not merely for the community which I officially represent, but also for the province of Bengal, and I presume to speak for the province of Bengal because I believe that every true son of India

and of the Empire hailing from Bengal would wish, not merely to agree with the words of this resolution, but with the spirit which Your Excellency would desire to associate with the passing of the resolution. Among the recommendations which have been put before you by the sub-committees are two which relate to the improvement of conditions of service of the Indian soldier. I cordially support these proposals because I feel that those who are most closely responsible for recruiting believe that they are just and proper, and more especially because the gentlemen who are most closely responsible for the splendid flow of recruits from that most gallant province of India, the Punjab, are fully in favour of these proposals. My Lord, in Bengal, we are far from the scene of war. We from the British Isles will never again see many of our dearest friends, but the people of Bengal have not yet felt that shock of the loss of husbands, of sons and of brothers which other parts of India have felt. In other parts of India there are thousands of widowed women who will never again know a husband's love, there are thousands of children who will never again know a father's care, but no part of India has felt, and please God no part of India will feel, the terror of invasion by that great blond brute, the apostle of German culture. My Lord, it is because I believe that India understands what other parts of the world have suffered, it is because I believe that she realises what German culture stands for, the breaking of

promises, the mutilation and murder of children, and the worse than murder of women, that I am certain that the best of her, and that is all that matters, will rise far above internal discussions and disputes and will concentrate upon one aim and one aim alone, and will be able proudly to say to those who have fought for the cause of right and freedom when victory at last comes, 'I have done my best!'

MR. R. N. MUDHOLKAR :

YOUR EXCELLENCY, YOUR HIGHNESSES AND BROTHER DELEGATES AND GENTLEMEN, in response to the appeal of the Prime Minister, the people of India have come and met Your Excellency and your Government to concert measures suitable for the needs of the hour, measures needed for the defence of that Empire, for the defence of those principles of freedom, liberty, justice and righteousness with which the name of England and the traditions of the British race are indissolubly connected. My Lord, it has often been said that England's hold over India may prove of a precarious character when the hour of need comes. This used to be said, especially in the days of my youth, long past. That was the faith of the Kaiser and of his people also, when they precipitated the present war. My Lord, 1914 to 1918 have demonstrated the utter futility of that belief, the utter baselessness of that aspersion against our character. The fields of Flanders and of North France, of Gallipoli,

of Egypt, of Palestine and Mesopotamia testify to the resolve of the whole of India, India under the Government of Indian Princes, and India administered directly by the British Government, the grim resolve of India to stand by the British Empire and to shed the best blood of the country for the defence of that Empire. My Lord, it is due to our faith in England that all this response to the call of the Empire has been made, and now that a graver crisis is developing, now that we fear that sterner measures may have to be adopted, we obey your summons and have come here to concert with your Government what further steps should be taken. The collapse of Russia has created a new danger and that danger has to be met. Where we spoke in hundreds we shall have now to speak in thousands, and formerly, only three years ago, where we spoke in thousands, we shall now have to speak in lakhs. I do not know, my Lord, whether it may not be necessary before the end of this year to send very large reinforcements to Mesopotamia, to create practically an army for Persia and to send them to our faithful ally and faithful friend His Majesty the Amir of Afghanistan. There is absolutely no doubt about the thorough loyalty of His Majesty the Amir of Afghanistan, but he has to rule over a turbulent people. My Lord, as I said, it may be necessary for the Government of India to create a far larger army than was ever contemplated by those who established the army system in India, and for this purpose it is only by associating with the work which ordinarily used to be done by

Government the people of the country, the leaders of the country, and non-official men that you will be able to obtain the numbers which are necessary. The manpower of the country is to be organised and for that purpose the methods which have been followed in England, the methods which have been followed in regard to the European and Anglo-Indian community, will have to be followed in regard to the Indian community. Boys of 16 to 18 will have to be trained for the future in view of the eventuality of being called upon to be enlisted in the Army, all our youthful population between 21 and 41—in fact I might say 45—should be liable to be called upon for enlistment, and even old men, men like me, must be called upon, and should regard it as a privilege to be called upon, to help in the sacred cause to the utmost of our ability. This, my Lord, I regard as the supreme need of the hour, and I have no doubt that with that union of hearts which ought to exist, which I am sure the exigencies of the hour will develop more and more between our European brethren and my Indian fellow countrymen, this work will be capable of achievement without any difficulty. I come from a province where the relations between the official Europeans and the Indians have, as a whole, been very friendly and very smooth, and I am quite sure that with a fuller recognition of this fact that, whether he be a Britisher or he be an Indian, they are both of them fellow subjects of the same sovereign, members of the same Empire and fighting for those great

principles which have made England what it is, there will be no difficulty whatsoever in bringing about the result which we consider most essential.

Then in regard to the organisation of the resources of the country, a vast amount of work is called upon from India which should have been called upon from India earlier. It is a pity that all the resources of India were not utilised in this matter as they should have been two or three years ago. But let the past be left out. We have to see to the future, and for the greater demands in regard to food and in regard to war materials, India's help will be of incalculable value to the Empire. Sir, the army in the East will have to be increased by several lakhs and all the needs of that army ought to be supplied in this country. In regard to these matters there have been certain suggestions submitted to Your Excellency's Government which have been, I understand, transmitted to the different committees. There are also the resolutions of the two committees which suggest what should be done, and it should be the duty of us all loyally to carry out all those resolutions and to do what lies in the power of every one of us, whatever be his age, whatever be his occupation, whatever be his position, to work for the realisation of those purposes upon which the existence of India, of England, and of the cause of British justice and freedom in the world depend.

HON'BLE MR. MADHU SUDAN DAS :

YOUR EXCELLENCY, YOUR HIGHNESSES AND GENTLEMEN, soon after the outbreak of the war, the Imperial Legislative Council passed a resolution to the effect that India would make all the necessary sacrifices demanded of her to uphold the dignity, honour and prestige of the Empire. I had the honour to move that resolution from my seat in the Imperial Council. Since then the war has developed, thousands of Indians have died on the battlefields of Flanders, France and in Mesopotamia in trying to stem the current of barbarity and militarism with which Germany proposed to conquer the world. Their departed souls, which have now their abode in heaven, demand from every man that he should take up the cause for which they have laid down their lives. Since the date of that resolution an additional duty has been imposed upon India, and that duty is of a most sacred nature. The graphic description of the situation which Your Excellency was pleased to give the other day enabled us to understand fully the dangers of the situation. To understand the nature of an impending danger is the first step towards averting it. The resolution which is now before this Conference has reference to measures which have been suggested by the sub-committees arranged for the purpose. These measures command the support of the representatives of the whole population of India. Unanimity in a measure like this, unanimity on the issues which have

been raised by a world-wide war, certainly is a sure sign of the earnestness of the people. With a true perception of the danger ahead, with a proper discrimination between Imperial and Indian interests, with the support which these resolutions have received from the Ruling Chiefs of India, one may safely say India's Ruling Chiefs and India's educated people stand united to-day. The support which this Conference has received from Her Highness the Begum Sahiba of Bhopal does not represent *her* support only. I think and I believe it represents the support of other illustrious daughters of India who, for obvious reasons, are unable to be present. So I may truly and justly say that the sons and daughters of India stand united to-day, determined to do their utmost to secure victory in this war for their King-Emperor. This Council Chamber has often been the scene of animated discussions. All the discussions on differences between the Government and the people or between the people themselves can be summarised in three little words. Those words are: "India for Indians". The war and the present situation have changed the angle of vision. It is not any more a cry of "India for Indians". The cry to-day is "Indians for India". By the unanimous support which the Conference has given to the measures embodied in the resolution, we have laid the foundation of a temple of concord, and I am sure that, when the days of peace return, on that foundation will rise a temple within which will be installed the majestic

figures of England and India like two sisters pledged to maintain each other's honour.

HON'BLE MR. RAJENDRA NARAYAN CHOW-
DHURY :

YOUR EXCELLENCY, YOUR HIGHNESSES AND BROTHER DELEGATES, it has fallen to my lot to tire your patience if already you have not been tired. We all know the necessity for coming here, and at the same time I know personally the mission which has brought me here from the far distant land of Assam. It is the mission of loyalty and devotion and the readiness for sacrifice at this present juncture. I have understood the spirit of this call. It is a call to arms in one respect, and it is a call to make sacrifices to crush the barbarism of Germany and its allies. We know the position of our Empire. British prowess is still dominant, but still, as Your Excellency told us, we have got to see ahead and that is the reason why we have been brought together here. As I have already stated, I will simply tire Your Excellency's patience if I were to make a long address. I will therefore cut my remarks short and say that I whole-heartedly support the resolution so ably moved by the Hon'ble Mover.

The resolution was put to the Conference and carried unanimously.

HON'BLE SIR WILLIAM MEYER :

YOUR EXCELLENCY, YOUR HIGHNESSES AND GENTLEMEN, in the speech with which Your Excellency opened this Conference you invited the co-operation of all in securing the success of the coming War Loan. You indicated at the same time that your Government propose to consider later on, in conjunction with the Legislative Council, how far it will be feasible for India to increase her contribution to His Majesty's Government for war purposes, or assist financially in other ways. But you observed that at the present moment it was necessary to concentrate our efforts on that form of assistance which India can most usefully and readily give in connection with the existing crisis, that is to increase her combatant power and her production for war purposes : accordingly, you confined the scope of the formal committees appointed to these latter objects. I thought it desirable, however, to assemble a quite informal committee, consisting of members of this Conference who are specially capable of dealing with financial subjects, to consider various practical questions in connection with the coming War Loan, and that informal committee met yesterday afternoon. It included besides Their Highnesses the Maharaja Scindia and the Maharaja Jam Sahab of Navanagar my friend the Hon'ble Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola, and the following gentlemen :—

Sir Bernard Hunter,

Dr. Nair,
 Mr. Rama Rayaningar,
 Mr. C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar,
 Mr. Kasturiranga Iyengar,
 Sir Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy,
 Mr. Hogg,
 Mr. M. de P. Webb,
 Mr. Manmohan Das Ramj,
 Mr. Sitanath Roy,
 Mr. Surendranath Banerjea,
 Mr. Crum,
 The Nawab Bahadur of Murshidabad,
 Sir John Campbell,
 Mr. C. Y. Chintamani,
 Mr. T. Smith,
 Sirdar Sunder Singh Majithia,
 Major Sir Umar Hyat Khan,
 Sir Gangadhar Chitnavis,
 Mr. Mudholkar, and
 Mr. Currie.

I desire to say that many useful suggestions were made, and that the informal committee asked me to tell this Conference that they pledge themselves to do all in their power to ensure the success of India's coming War Loan. I am sure that that will be the general sense of the Conference also.

CLOSING SPEECH BY HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY.

YOUR HIGHNESSES AND GENTLEMEN, we have now come to the end of our deliberations, and I think you will all say with me that it has been good for each one of us to have been here. It has been an experience and an inspiration, an experience that has never fallen to the lot of any one here, an experience which no one in India has ever had. From all the ends of India you have been gathered together representing, I hope, every shade of opinion and every possible community. You have come here, you have taken counsel together, you have had put before you the facts with regard to the crisis. You have been willing to sink all minor differences for the moment and to think and consider what you can do for your King, for the Empire, and for your country. I am proud to have had the privilege of presiding over such a Conference. Now that you are going back to your homes, I want you to take with you the words which His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar uttered in his speech just now "you are going to perform without fail what you have resolved here." You are going back to your provinces fortified and inspired by the days of labour that you have spent here. I have to thank those gentlemen who have come from the ends of India to consult and consider together here.

Every province except one has been represented by a delegation. The Burma Government has only one representative here, the Hon'ble Maung Bah Too. I take upon myself full responsibility for not having issued a wider invitation to that province. It was not because I undervalue the assistance that Burma can give, nor because I do not know that Burma wishes to be identified in every way with India in this great movement, but because I was sure that the inconvenience of travelling would be so great. I felt that it might be possible that the Burman delegates would even arrive too late for our deliberations, and therefore I expressly did not invite Burma to send a delegation. I would say here that Burma has done great deeds in the past for the Empire, that she has contributed in men, that she has contributed in money and that Burma may well be proud of what she has done. I feel sure that she will soon have reason to be even prouder.

Now with regard to the resolutions themselves; the first resolution it has been my proud privilege to forward to His Majesty the King-Emperor, as a reply to his gracious message which I read to this Conference the other day, the second resolution will be forwarded through the Secretary of State to the Prime Minister. I said in my opening remarks that the eyes of the world were upon India and that I felt sure that we who are gathered together here are ready to quit ourselves like men. I feel perfectly confident

that when these resolutions of the Conference go out to Great Britain and to the Dominions, it will be said that we have quitted ourselves like men. I am perfectly conscious of the fact, I do not blink it for one moment, that there are representatives in this Conference who lay great stress upon certain domestic matters. I do not underrate their zeal in these matters. Nor do I underestimate the importance of these questions which they would like to have brought up before this Conference. But let me assure them that no prejudice has been done to the cause they have at heart, that rather the attitude of those who have been present here to-day, the fact that men who feel strongly on these questions should have been ready when the Empire calls to drop for the moment these matters and say "No, this comes first." I say that this attitude will raise sympathy which must bear its fruit in due time. This Conference has had a practical side apart from the passing of these resolutions to-day. It has been of value in that we have been able through the committees to take gentlemen into our confidence, that we have been able in questions of man power to tell you, in the secrecy of committee, the work that we have been able to do and to set out the facts at our disposal, to explain why it is that the Government of India have found it difficult to do certain things, and why we urge those who come to the special committee not to press us upon certain matters. Sub-Committees have their practical side, and I feel sure that those who have

been present on these committees will go away able to help us when they get back to their homes. I think Mr. Ironside, in his speech, suggested that he has not had very much opportunity while he has been here. May I assure him, if that has been unfortunately the case, that in an assembly like this, where you have to get committees together, it perforce happens sometimes that individuals do not get their chance. But if that has been so, I can only say that it is to be thoroughly regretted, and I hope that when Mr. Ironside goes back to Bengal, he will, with all that fervour and loyalty and desire to help the Empire's cause for which he is renowned, throw himself into the work of his provincial committee, and will be able to give us his unstinted assistance in the province of Bengal.

There is another sphere in which this Conference must have been of great value. In my closing address to the Imperial Legislative Council a month or so back I asked Hon'ble Members when they went to their homes to try and educate people with regard to the difficulties and inconveniences which are inseparably connected with the present state of things. We have, as many members know, very great difficulties in connection with our railways. Those difficulties must react upon our travelling public. I believe it to be a fact that—I am speaking without the book—that we reduced last year something like a million train miles a month. Well, now go back from here and tell people who,

after all, do not know the causes of things, tell them why these things are in a bad state, and how even in this little inconvenience which they suffer they are doing something to help. I believe we have only got to tell people these things in order to win their co-operation and support. But it is impossible for it to be done officially. It can be done by you, gentlemen, who are non-officials who can educate people in these matters.

There is one matter in which, I am sure, we shall receive support. In this Conference we have not dealt through a committee of the Conference with the large question of finance. Now, I am very jealous of the position of the Imperial Legislative Council. The question of finance is essentially one in which we have to consult and carry with us the members of our Imperial Legislative Council. We have endeavoured through the informal meeting which has been held by the Hon'ble the Finance Member to do something towards enlightening certain members with regard to our financial efforts, but I am of the decided opinion that the matter is one which can only properly be discussed in our Imperial Legislative Council. In September, we shall be in a position, I trust and hope, to discuss matters with the Imperial Legislative Council. There can be no direction in which India or the Government of India can fail to respond to the call from Great Britain when that call is made, whether it is for men, whether it is

for materials or whether it is for money. I feel confident that it will be the wish of India that we should try and see what response we can adequately make in that matter of finance which is essentially a matter for the Imperial Legislative Council.

This Conference has been unique, because we have had here not only representatives from the provinces but also as many as, I think, fifteen Ruling Princes from the Native States. This has been a great Imperial Conference and therefore it was essential that Their Highnesses should be represented. They have no interests separate from the rest of India in imperial matters. They are one with India and the Empire and it has been a great benefit to us that they have been able to be here and that in all the resolutions that have been passed is embodied their willing co-operation as well as the willing co-operation of the whole of this country. But I should not like this Conference to pass without informing it of a resolution which the Ruling Princes who have been present here have asked me to forward to His Majesty the King-Emperor. The Ruling Princes who have been invited decided at an informal meeting held by them on the 28th April 1918 "to convey through His Excellency the Viceroy to His Majesty the King-Emperor the renewed assurances of their unswerving loyalty and attachment to His Imperial Majesty and of their determination to continue unabated to the utmost of their abilities

and resources their efforts for the successful prosecution of the war.”

Ever since the Prime Minister's message came to me and I made my reply, the Ruling Princes have been rallying to the cause of the Empire. They have been sending offers of contributions and offers of men. I will only mention just a few of those which have come in and which have not already been published and which have been made by some of their Highnesses who are present here to-day.

It

His Highness the Gaekwar of Baroda . 15 lakhs.

His Highness the Maharaja Sindbia of
Gwalior 15 lakhs a year
so long as the
war continues.

His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir . 5 lakhs.

His Highness the Maharaja of Jaipur . 5 lakhs.

His Highness the Maharao of Kutch . 1 lakh a year
for the pe-
riod of the
war.

His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar . 1 lakh.

His Highness the Maharaja Jam
Sahib of Nawanagar . . . 3 lakhs a year
as long as the
war lasts.

I have to thank their Highnesses for having come here. It has added lustre to the Conference. It has shown that we in India know of no real distinction between British India and the Native States when Imperial issues are at stake.

And now I have only to wish you farewell. I thank you all from the bottom of my heart for your attendance here. I thank you on behalf of the King-Emperor for the resolutions you have passed and I feel confident that you will return to your provinces with hope strengthened and fortified and inspired by what has passed here, and determined to do whatever lies in your power for the safety, honour and welfare of our Sovereign and his Dominions.

HON'BLE MR. M. A. JINNAH :

YOUR EXCELLENCY, YOUR HIGHNESSES AND GENTLEMEN, before this Conference disperses I have been asked by some of my friends to propose a vote of thanks to Your Excellency for convening this Conference. I need not tell you that it is a great pleasure and honour to me to do so. We all know this Conference is a unique and unprecedented Conference. Never before in the history of British India was such a Conference convened. We have been asked by the President of the Conference to fully realise the gravity of the situation and the critical times through which we are

passing. I am sure I am voicing the opinion of every one present here when I say that when we came here we came fully determined to co-operate with the Government and to resolve measures which will ensure security not only to India but to the Empire as a whole. I believe there is not a man in this Conference who will be unwilling to make any sacrifice for the safety of our Motherland and of our hearths and homes. We consulted together and we made suggestions in the committee stage including the proposal which was referred to by His Excellency and over-ruled as irrelevant, but I can assure Your Excellency that we did it simply with the view of convincing the Government in this country that in your entire aims we respond whole-heartedly to the call that has been made; our desire is to respond to the call whole-heartedly, and if the proposals embodied in the resolution of my friend Mr. Khaparde were accepted and given due consideration, it would facilitate the attainment of the object you have at heart; you will enable us to co-operate with you in a far greater measure than at present.

I am one of those who come under the class which Your Excellency mentioned. I have been very keenly interested in domestic struggles. My Lord, Your Excellency is occupying the position of a representative of England. The Empire never had faced the struggles, trials and dangers that it has faced for the last three years. At this moment, my Lord, as

a representative of the King-Emperor we ask you to bear with us, to sympathise with our legitimate and proper aspirations, and I am sure that every Indian either in this hall or outside of it should be made to feel that he is a citizen of the empire, that he is a King's equal subject and that he will not be denied the freedom which European British subjects enjoy. I can tell you this, that under those circumstances there is not an Indian who will not be ready to sacrifice his last drop of blood, his last breath in the interest of his Motherland and the Empire.

Personally, I most cordially welcome this Conference. We may not have been able to achieve much, still I welcome the idea of such a Conference. I entirely agree with what His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar said that the Ruling Princes have no interests separate from ours. It may be that the Princes have got their own internal affairs to look after. It may be that they should not interfere in our internal affairs and that we should not interfere in the affairs of the Native States. But we are all Indians and we have all love of our country. I welcome the suggestion to sink all our minor domestic differences at this critical moment. I also welcome our European friends, when Mr. Ironside said that he wished to address us as friends, and I am sure Mr. Ironside and his community whom he represents will view us with the same spirit as we view them. .

Now I do not wish to detain this Conference any longer, and I am sure that I am echoing the feelings of the Conference when I say that we must pass a cordial vote of thanks to His Excellency the Viceroy.

The Conference then dissolved.

APPENDIX II.**CONSTITUTION OF THE CONFERENCE.****Chairman :****HIS EXCELLENCY THE VICEROY.****Official Members :**

His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief.

The Hon'ble Sir William Meyer, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E.

The Hon'ble Sir Claude Hill, K.C.S.I., C.I.E.

The Hon'ble Sir Sankaran Nair, Kt., C.I.E.

The Hon'ble Sir George Lowndes, K.C.S.I., K.C.

The Hon'ble Sir George Barnes, K.C.B.

The Hon'ble Sir William Vincent, Kt.

Ruling Princes.

His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar.

His Highness the Gaekwar of Baroda.

Her Highness the Begum of Bhopal.

His Highness the Maharaja of Bikanir.

His Highness the Maharaja of Cooch Behar.

His Highness the Maharao of Cutch.

His Highness the Maharaj Rana of Dholpur.

His Highness the Maharaja of Gwalior.

His Highness the Maharaja of Indore.

His Highness the Maharaja of Jaipur.

His Highness the Maharaja of Kapurthala.

His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir.

His Highness the Maharaja of Kolhapur.

His Highness the Maharaja Jam Sahib of Navanagar.

His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala.

Provincial Representatives.

MADRAS.

The Hon'ble Mr. Rajagopalachariar.

The Prince of Arcot.

Sir Sivaswami Iyer.

The Raja of Bobbili.

Dr. T. M. Nair.

Mr. P. Ramarayaningar.

Mr. C. P. Ramaswami Iyer.

Sir Bernard Hunter.

Mr. Kasturiranga Iyengar.

The Hon'ble Mr. H. F. W. Gillman, C.S.I., representing
Provincial Recruiting Board.

BOMBAY.

The Hon'ble Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola.

Sir Dorab Tata.

Sir Narayan Chandravarkar.

The Hon'ble Mr. R. P. Paranjpye.

The Hon'ble Mr. Ghulam Hussain Hidayat-ullah.

The Hon'ble Mr. Manmohandas Ramji.

Mr. M. K. Gandhi.

Mr. M. deP. Webb.

The Hon'ble Mr. P. R. Cadell, C.I.E., representing Provincial
Recruiting Board.

BENGAL.

The Hon'ble Sir Satyendra Sinha.

Nawab Bahadur of Murshidabad.

Raja Bahadur Sashi Acharji Chowdhury, of Mymensingh.

BIHAR AND ORISSA.

Maharaja Bahadur of Darbhanga. (Unable to attend.)

Syed Hasan Imam.

Mr. Madhu Sudan Das, C.I.E.

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Khwaja Muhammad Noor.

The Hon'ble Rai Bahadur Purnendu Narayan Sinha.

The Hon'ble Mr. W. A. Ironside.

Maharaja Bahadur of Dumraon.

Mr. E. L. L. Hammond, I.C.S., representing Provincial Recruiting Board..

CENTRAL PROVINCES.

The Zemindar of Khujji.

Rao Bahadur K. G. Damle.

Dr. Munje.

Rai Sahib Mathura Prasad.

Mr. R. N. Mudholkar, C.I.E. .

Lientenant-Colonel Crosthwaite, representing Provincial Recruiting Board.

ASSAM.

The Hon'ble Mr. Hickman.

The Hon'ble Rai Bahadur Nalini Kanta Rai Dastidar.

The Hon'ble Khan Bahadur Syed Abdul Majid.

The Hon'ble Mr. Rajendra Narayan Chowdhury.

Mr. Bhupendra Narayan Singh Chowdhury.

NORTH-WEST FRONTIER PROVINCE.

Mr. Saad-uddin.

Mr. S. E. Pears, I.C.S., representing Provincial Recruiting Board.

APPENDIX III.

Report of the Sub-Committee on Man-power.

The Sub-Committee appointed by the Conference to consider the question of man-power, and to suggest measures designed to mobilize that power effectively, beg to report as follows :—

I. The Sub-Committee, considering that their terms of reference confined their deliberations to the consideration of measures calculated to secure an immediate development of man-power for military purposes, have excluded from this report certain proposals which they regarded as only remotely relevant to the objects they had in view.

II. Many concrete proposals have been received from the members present of Provincial Recruiting Boards, dealing with various aspects of recruiting organization, such as the organization and expansion of the Indian Defence Force, the Indian soldier's family allowances, the method of payment of the bonus in recruitment and an increase of the recruiting staff. These have been referred by the Sub-Committee to the further consideration of the Central Recruiting Board and the Adjutant-General.

III. The Sub-Committee desire to submit to the Conference the following resolutions and recommendations :—

(i) That this Committee recommend that the Conference tender to His Majesty the King-Emperor a suitable acknowledgment of his gracious message to which India will respond with enthusiastic alacrity.

(ii) That this Committee offer its cordial support to the Government of India in largely increasing voluntary recruitment during the present year.

The Sub-Committee are of opinion that India's effort should be a voluntary one, and that it is not necessary at present to consider the question of conscription.

- (iii) That this Committee desire to impress on the Government the necessity for the grant of a substantial number of King's Commissions to Indians, and urge as a corollary to this that measures be taken for training the recipients of these commissions.
- (iv) That this Committee recommend that the Government be invited to consider, without delay, the question of a substantial increase of the pay of Indian soldiers.
- (v) That this Committee desire that the question of the constitution and development of (a) Publicity Bureaux and (b) Employment Bureaux in the various provinces be commended to the favourable consideration of Government.

Names of Members of the Sub-Committee on Man-power.

1. His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, *Chairman*.
2. His Highness the Maharaja of Kashmir.
3. His Highness the Maharaja of Bikanir.
4. His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala.
5. Hon'ble Sir William Meyer.
6. Hon'ble Sir William Vincent.
7. Lieutenant-General J. Hudson.
8. Hon'ble Mr. Gillman.
9. Mr. R. E. Holland.
10. Raja of Bobbili.
11. Mr. C. P. Ramaswami Iyer.

12. Prince of Arcot.
13. Dr. T. M. Nair.
14. Hon'ble Mr. M. A. Jinnah.
15. Hon'ble Mr. R. P. Paranjpye.
16. Hon'ble Mr. V. J. Patel.
17. Hon'ble Mr. M. N. Hogg.
18. Hon'ble Mr. P. R. Cadell.
19. Dr. S. K. Mullick.
20. Hon'ble Babu Surendranath Banerjea.
21. Mr. W. E. Crum.
22. Mr. B. Chakravarti.
23. Nawab Syed Nawab Ali Chaudhury.
24. Hon'ble Sir John Campbell.
25. Hon'ble Pandit M. M. Malaviya.
26. Hon'ble Babu Moti Chand.
27. Hon'ble Nawab Abdul Majid.
28. Hon'ble Sardar Gajjan Singh.
29. Hon'ble Chaudhury Lal Chand.
30. Hon'ble Fazl-i-Hussain.
31. Major Sir Umar Hyat Khan.
32. Hon'ble Mian Muhammad Shafi.
33. Hon'ble Captain Ajab Khan.
34. Maharaja Bahadur of Dumraon.
35. Mr. E. L. L. Hammond.
36. Mr. Hassan Imam.
37. Raja of Kanika.
38. Hon'ble Mr. G. S. Khaparde.
39. Hon'ble Sir G. M. Chitnavis.
40. Hon'ble Mr. B. D. Sukul.
41. Dr. Munji.
42. Hon'ble Mr. K. K. Chanda.
43. Captain Feiling, *Secretary*.

Report of the Sub-Committee on Resources.

The Sub-Committee appointed by the Conference to consider the question of India's resources, under the heads of Munitions, Communications and Food-supply, have the honour to report unanimously as follows :—

In the first place, they are of opinion that it will be of appreciable assistance in the successful prosecution of the war if the Government of India and the provincial Governments as well as the people can be so guided as to practise economy in every possible direction. The Sub-Committee have reason to believe that all classes in India and Burma will at this juncture welcome from the Government of India advice and indications of the best and surest means wherever possible of controlling and regulating all material, both in Government departments and in the possession of private persons, which is in any way necessary for the prosecution of the war to final victory. Economies can be effected in many directions, one of which is the consumption in each locality, as far as possible, of local products only, thus diminishing needless cross traffic on the railways. In particular the Sub-Committee consider that it should be suggested to local Governments that they should consider the possibility of a reduction in their expenditure on public works, the postponement of such building operations as are not of an absolutely urgent character and the utmost possible utilisation of building materials which are procurable locally. To this end the Sub-Committee desire to suggest, in the first place, the adoption by the Conference of the following Resolution :—

Resolution I.

(a) " This Conference recommends that provincial and—where this is desirable—State committees, on the former of which non-official Indian opinion should be adequately represented, should be

formed for the purpose of advising Government departments and of encouraging the people to confine their private requirements as nearly as possible to local products, in order to save unnecessary demands for railway transport, and for the further purpose of advising Directors of Civil Supplies as to the special necessities of any districts and as to the commodities for which they think that priority should be given on the railways."

(b) "This Conference recommends that for the purpose of minimising the serious hardships to the public and the dislocation of trade caused by the congestion of traffic on railways, it is necessary that the Government should with as little delay as possible take measures for the construction by itself of river craft for inland transport, of sailing ships for ocean transport and also as far as possible of steamships, and should by the grant of subsidies or concessions encourage the construction of the same by private agencies."

2. In the next place, and with the same end in view, the Sub-Committee are persuaded that considerable development is possible in the local production of war materials and other munitions, and that by organising a provincial machinery much could be done towards reducing the local consumption of material needed for war use. The existence of such provincial organisations would also, the Sub-Committee believe, be useful in preventing or alleviating local irregularities in, and inflation of, prices. For these reasons they commend to the Conference the adoption of the following Resolution :—

Resolution II.

"This Conference recommends that provincial, and—where this is desirable—State committees, the former consisting both of officials and non-officials, should be formed to advise the provincial

Controllers of Munitions regarding the measures to be adopted for—

- (a) stimulating the local production of war materials ;
- (b) reducing the local consumption of material wanted for war use ;
- (c) preventing local irregularities in, and inflation of, prices."

3. For the purpose of giving effect to the foregoing Resolution the Sub-Committee think it necessary that the Munitions Board—upon which it is desirable that Indians should be appointed—should be in close communication with the proposed committees, and, to this end, they recommend that the following Resolution be passed :—

Resolution III.

"This Conference recommends that the Munitions Board should place itself in communication with the provincial and State committees, where these are formed, for the purpose of organising district work in connection with the supply of materials for war use."

4. In connection with the development of India's resources in food-stuffs the Sub-Committee have reason to believe that useful results would accrue from the appointment in all provinces—and, where this is desirable, in States—of committees acting in co-operation with the local Directors of Agriculture, where these exist. The functions of such committees should be to educate the agriculturist in the direction of making the best possible use of his land for the production of different kinds of food-stuffs, and to obtain and disseminate information in the districts in regard to facilities for procuring fertilisers of all kinds for the development of agriculture. To this end the Sub-Committee suggest the adoption of the following Resolution :—

Resolution IV.

"This Conference advises that provincial and—where this is desirable—State committees, the former consisting both of officials and non-officials, should be formed—with, if necessary, subordinate district committees—to advise in consultation with the local Directors of Agriculture, where these exist, in regard to the possibilities of developing the production of particular food-stuffs and to collate and propagate information likely to be of value to the agriculturist on the subject of manures, implements, etc., required for such development; also to recommend to the Government what steps might be taken to facilitate the cultivation of waste lands."

5. Lastly, the Committee recommend that the Munitions Board and the various advisory committees constituted for war work should, as far as this is consistent with the public interests, issue periodical communiqués or reports giving information as to their activities, requirements, and results.

Names of Members of the Sub-Committee on Resources.

1. Hon'ble Sir Claude Hill, *Chairman*.
2. Hon'ble Sir George Barnes.
3. His Highness the Maharaja Scindia of Gwalior.
4. His Highness the Maharaja of Alwar.
5. His Highness the Maharaj Rana of Dholpur.
6. His Highness the Maharaja Jam Sahib of Navanagar.
7. Sir Thomas Holland.
8. Hon'ble Mr. S. Sastri.
9. Hon'ble Rao Bahadur B. N. Sarma.
10. Sir Sivaswami Iyer.
11. Mr. Kasturiranga Iyengar.

12. Hon'ble Sir Ibrahim Rahimtoola.
13. Sir Dorab Tata.
14. Hon'ble Sir Fazulbhoy Currimbhoy.
15. Mr. M. deP. Webb.
16. Hon'ble Mr. Manmohandas Ramji.
17. Sir R. N. Mukherji.
18. Hon'ble Babu A. C. Mozumdar.
19. Raja of Mymensingh.
20. Nawab Bahadur of Murshidabad.
21. Hon'ble Rai Sita Nath Ray Bahadur.
22. Hon'ble Mr. C. Y. Chintamani.
23. Hon'ble Mr. T. Smith.
24. Hon'ble Dr. Tej Bahadur Sapru.
25. Hon'ble Maung Bah Too.
26. Raja Daljit Singh.
27. Raja Narendra Nath.
28. Maulvi Rahim Buksh.
29. Hon'ble Mr. Currie.
30. Hon'ble Nawab Zulfikar Ali Khan.
31. Hon'ble Sardar Sunder Singh Majithia.
32. Hon'ble Mr. W. A. Ironside.
33. Hon'ble R. B. Krishna Sahai.
34. Hon'ble Maharaja of Darbhanga.
35. Hon'ble Mr. Mazhar-ul-haq.
36. Hon'ble Mr. M. S. Das.
37. Rao Bahadur K. G. Damle.
38. The Zemindar of Khujji.
39. Mr. R. N. Mudholkar.
40. Rai Sahib Mathura Prasad.
41. Hon'ble Mr. Rajendra Narayan Chowdhury.
42. Mr. Saad-uddin.
43. Mr. Tennant Sloan, *Secretary*.

stimulate recruiting and generally to secure the co-operation of the non-official community in regard to the war is being taken up urgently by the Government, and the question of establishing a Central Bureau under a Committee on which the non-official element will be strongly represented is being examined. It is probable that the formation of any Central Bureau will involve the creation of similar bodies at Provincial and State capitals and possibly even at district headquarters, and Provincial Governments will have their attention specially drawn to this matter.

The Government of India recognise further that there are many persons who are anxious to do what they can to assist the Empire in this crisis, but are at present unable to ascertain the direction in which their assistance can best be rendered. They propose at once to address local Governments on the advisability of constituting Employment Bureaux to meet this difficulty.

It is understood that agencies of this character are already in existence for the co-ordination of the work of women, but the question of establishing them on a larger and more effective scale seems to demand further examination. The Government of India appreciate the danger of encouraging applications from persons who will seek to use the Bureau merely for their own profit, but they do not as at present advised consider that the difficulties of eliminating applications of this character should be insuperable.

Under the head 'Resources' the Conference recommended the immediate constitution of Provincial and, where desirable, State committees, the former including non-officials, to co-operate with the Munitions Board and other authorities in connection with the prosecution of the war. The principal directions in which the co-operation of the committees can probably be chiefly enlisted are in securing economy in railway traffic, in the encouragement

of consumption of local products, control of supplies, immediate development of shipping construction, production of food stuffs and war materials and economy in their use.

These subjects cover an enormous field, and an adequate review of what has already been effected by departmental agency in respect of them is not possible within the limits of a communiqué. But though much has been accomplished, it hardly needs to be pointed out that in this sphere of endeavour a maximum of success can only be expected from the co-operation of every class of the community which Government will so far as it is able now take steps to secure to the fullest degree possible. The Departments of Government concerned have been apprised already of the action suggested by the Conference and steps are being taken forthwith to bring into being the organizations desired by the Conference.

As regards financial assistance the position has been already carefully explained in the speeches of His Excellency and the Finance Member.

The most effective way in which the people of India can help is by doing everything possible to ensure the success of the forthcoming war loan. This is a direction in which the humblest member of the community can take a part in the prosecution of the war.

The Government of India believe that the Conference has done much to enlighten India on the present situation and to secure the whole-hearted co-operation of its true citizens in the measures for which it calls. It has enabled Government in consultation with India's princes and representatives of all communities to take stock of what is required, and formulate a general policy for the concentration and expansion of war endeavour of every kind.

It was obviously not in a position to elaborate the detailed methods to be employed to secure the end in view. These must be left to the initiation of the Government of India and the local Governments, the various departments and authorities concerned, with the co-operation of unofficial bodies and individuals. The heads of Provincial Governments have called meetings which will no doubt concert the measures to secure the end in view, which are most appropriate to local conditions and will doubtless be able to enlist within their respective jurisdiction a large body of unofficial support in carrying them out.

To sum up, the Conference has shown clearly that the community as a whole appreciates the situation, and is inspired by a whole-hearted desire to assist the Empire in every way possible in its present crisis. And whatever else may be achieved it is felt that the recommendations adopted cannot fail to bring into existence throughout the country a greatly strengthened and improved machinery both for fighting our enemies and winning the war, and for informing the peoples of India of the actual situation and of the ways in which every one can help the Empire in its need.



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